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VOL. XIII

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Vol. XIII. OF THE SERIES

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. V.

EGYPT UNDER RAMESES THE GREAT

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In the year 1894 Dr. Wallis Budge prepared for Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. an elementary work on the Egyptian language, entitled "First Steps in Egyptian," and two years later the companion volume, "An Egyptian Reading Book," with transliterations of all the texts printed in it, and a full vocabulary. The success of these works proved that they had helped to satisfy a want long felt by students of the Egyptian language, and as a similar want existed among students of the languages written in the cuneiform character, Mr. L. W. King, of the British Museum, prepared, on the same lines as the two books mentioned above, an elementary work on the Assyrian and Babylonian languages ("First Steps in Assyrian"), which appeared in 1898. These works, however, dealt mainly with the philological branch of Egyptology and Assyriology, and it was impossible in the space allowed to explain much that needed explanation in the other branches of these subjects—that is to say, matters relating to the archæology, history, religion, etc., of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In answer to the numerous requests which have been made, a series of short, popular handbooks on the most important branches of Egyptology and Assyriology have been prepared, and it is hoped that these will serve as introductions to the larger works on these subjects. The present is the thirteenth volume of the series, and the succeeding volumes will be published at short intervals, and at moderate prices.

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

EGYPT

UNDER

RAMESES THE GREAT

BY

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KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

THE period of Egyptian History treated of in the present volume begins with the reign of Rameses I., the first king of the XIXth Dynasty, and ends with that of Rameses XII., the last king of the XXth Dynasty, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt and the various portions of her Nubian and Asiatic Empire from about B.C. 1400 to B.C. 1130. This period is one of great interest, for in it are included the reigns of Seti I., and Rameses II., and Rameses III., and Menephthah, under which Egypt attained to a very high state of prosperity, and became the mistress of the trade of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean Sea. The country was not given up to the making of military expeditions and raids, as under the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it has been truly said that the general wealth of the country was greater during the reign of Rameses III. than during that of Thothmes III., although the hold of Egypt upon her Syrian, Libyan, and Nubian possessions was less strong and less secure. The additions

to the temple of Åmen-Rā, the "king of the gods, the lord of the thrones of the two lands" (or, the world), which were made by Seti I. and his son Rameses II., and the lavish endowments and gifts made to the temples of Thebes, Abydos, and Heliopolis, prove that the wealth of these monarchs was exceedingly great, and the splendour of the capitals of the South and the North during their rule was never equalled either under the preceding or succeeding dynasties. The ruins of Thebes and Tanis testify alike to the magnificence of the temples, the munificence of the kings, and the prosperity of the country. The interest of modern investigators has centred chiefly in the reign of Rameses II., and in the exploits of this king, but a little consideration shows that his greatness was due more to the general condition of the country and to the great length of his reign than to the ability which he displayed in the rule of his kingdom. His generals and their armies were strong enough to guard Egypt against invasion, but they added nothing to the empire of Egypt, and, in spite of the boastful description of his victory over the Kheta which Rameses II. caused to be inscribed on the walls of his temples, and the high-flown utterances of the courtier scribe Pentaurt, it is clear that the king was unable completely to vanquish the league of nations and tribes which fought with the Kheta against him, and that it was only with difficulty that he succeeded in keeping his hold upon any part of Palestine and Syria. The famous treaty

of Rameses II. with the Kheta proves beyond doubt that the king of Egypt was obliged to acknowledge their independence, and to recognize the authority of their prince Kheta-sar, and to enter into obligations which would prevent him from invading their country in the future. When we consider the vast amount of spoil which the Egyptians took during their expeditions in Northern Syria under the XVIIIth Dynasty, it is tolerably certain that Rameses II. would not have made the treaty he did except under the strongest pressure. It is, of course, possible, though improbable, that he was led to act as he did because he wished to develop trade between the merchants of the rapidly growing cities of the Delta and those of Northern Syria. The Kheta wars were the chief military events of the reign of Rameses II., and the result of them, as far as Egypt was concerned, was a reduction of her dominions. On the other hand, the arts and sciences flourished, and the noble buildings of every kind which sprang up as if by magic in all the great centres of religious thought prove that the skill of the architect, and the artist, and the workman was as great as it had ever been; their style was not so good as that of the IVth and XIIth Dynasties, but this was due both to change of ideas and taste among the Egyptians, and to the influence which was exerted on the arts and crafts by foreign intercourse and trafficking. When Rameses II. died he left his country in a comparatively flourishing condition, but his empire was crumbling away, and

the events which took place under Menephthah prove that the nations around were only waiting for his death to invade Egyptian territory. Under Rameses III. the Libyans and the Syrians with their allies made a strong attack upon the Delta, and it says much for the ability of his generals and the administration of his forces that the Egyptians were victorious. This king appears to have been the first Pharaoh who constructed fleets of boats which could be used both for the purpose of war and of trade. Under the succeeding Rameses kings the power of Egypt declined rapidly, and the poverty-stricken condition of Thebes, the capital of the South, is well illustrated by the fact that the priests of Åmen-Rā were obliged to make Rameses IX. authorize them to levy taxes on the people for the maintenance of the temple of their god. The papyri of the period tell us that the royal tombs of Thebes were plundered, and that the mummies of many of the great Pharaohs were stripped of everything of value, and we know from the "finds" at Dêr el-Baḥarî that the sacrilegious thieves even broke the royal remains in pieces. The Governments of Rameses IX. and Rameses X. prosecuted the robbers and violators of the tombs, but the examination of the witnesses revealed the fact that the pillaging of the abodes of the dead was carried on in a systematic manner with the connivance of certain highly-placed officials, and, apparently, the wrecking of the royal mummies and plundering of their funeral furniture

continued. Meanwhile the priests, finding that the later Rameses kings were unable to support the great brotherhood of Åmen-Rā, lost no opportunity of increasing their hold upon Thebes, and at length, on the death of Rameses XII., they boldly assumed the government of the country, and their high-priest, Ḥer-Ḥeru, usurped the throne.

In connexion with the reign of Menephthah a chapter has been added in the present volume on the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. In it an attempt has been made to consider the narrative of the Exodus given by Josephus in the light of recently ascertained facts, and the unhistorical character of many parts of it is made plain; that Manetho preserved in his History of Egypt an Egyptian tradition of a great exodus of foreigners from the Delta there is no reason to doubt, but until we have this writer's account of it in his own words no final opinion of its value historically can be arrived at. It is tolerably certain that the exodus of Semitic foreigners to which Josephus refers is that which is generally known as the "expulsion of the Hyksos," and that it is not that which is described in the Book of Exodus; the Exodus of the Israelites after the building of the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses must certainly have taken place during the reign of one of the successors of Rameses II., and more than one exodus of Semites must have taken place during the centuries which elapsed between the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta and the

reign of Rameses II. The narrative of the Book of Exodus appears to the writer to be based on historical facts, and the archaeological evidence contained in it proves that it is no historical romance, as some have endeavoured to show. Its form indicates that it was written a long time after the events happened which it describes, but the main fact that an exodus of Israelites took place as the result of the forced labour which they were compelled to perform is unassailable, and all the evidence goes to prove that a great body of Israelites left the Delta between the reigns of Rameses II. and Rameses III. If the exodus took place under Menephthah the popular view that the king of Egypt was drowned in the "Red Sea" must be abandoned, for his mummified body has been recently identified beyond doubt, and in connexion with this subject it must be remembered that it is nowhere said in the narrative of the Book of Exodus that the king was drowned, but only the host of Pharaoh.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

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EGYPT

UNDER

RAMESES THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

1.  RĀ-MEN-PEḤ-PEḤ, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESSU [I.].



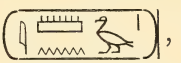
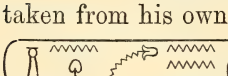
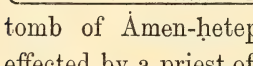
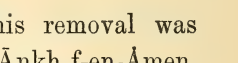
KA-NEKHT-UATCH-SUTENIU, the Horus name of Rameses I.

RĀMESSU I., or RAMESES I., the first king of the XIXth Dynasty, was apparently related to Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, but the degree of relationship cannot at present be defined, and its existence is doubted by some writers. There is certainly no evidence that he was of royal descent, and nothing is known of the circumstances under which he ascended the throne. There are grounds for thinking that he held, like Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, high offices under the government for several years before he became king, and that

when he succeeded his colleague he was past middle age; it is more than probable that he exercised in the south of Egypt an authority similar to that which Ḥeru-em-ḥeb exercised in the north. Although the name of Åmen does not occur in any of his names or titles he must have been a loyal servant of that god or he would never have been supported by his priests. His reign was very short, certainly less than ten years, and, but for one thing, of which there is no mention in the Egyptian inscriptions of the period, might have been termed uneventful. We have already mentioned the prominent part which the confederation of the Kheta tribes took in the breaking of the power of Egypt in Syria in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep IV., and since that time Egypt had been able to do nothing to check their advance in Northern Syria. The disruption caused by the heresy of the Disk worshippers prevented the despatch of any army against them during the reigns of the three predecessors of Rameses I., and thus it happened that when this king ascended the throne of Egypt he discovered that he was powerless even to prevent their advance upon territory much nearer to Egypt, still less to regain the old Egyptian possessions near the Euphrates, and he, therefore, made a treaty of peace with Sapalul, the prince of the Kheta tribes. Reference is made to this treaty in the treaty which Sapalul's descendant made with Rameses II., and it is clear that in the reign of Rameses I. the Kheta were sufficiently powerful to make it worth the

while of the Egyptians to be at peace with them. The only military expedition undertaken by Rameses I. was against the Nubians, but whether this took place during the first two years of his reign, when he was sole monarch, or later, when his son Seti I. was co-regent, cannot be said. As a mark of his devotion to Ámen he built the large pylon through which entrance is gained to the great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of the god at Karnak, but of this very little now remains; on a wall near it he is represented in the act of adoring a number of gods. Rameses I. made a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and was presumably buried in it. It consists of a large hall, with a doorway at each end; through the further doorway admission is gained to a narrow chamber. The hall is approached by two corridors, which are not ornamented in any way, and the second forms a steep flight of steps which leads directly into the hall or mummy chamber. The walls of the hall are decorated with large figures of the gods Maāt, Ptaḥ, Nefer-Temu, Anubis, Horus, Thoth, Kheperà, etc., and with inscriptions and scenes from the Book of the Underworld. The sarcophagus is made of red granite and is about five feet high; it is ornamented with figures of the gods painted in yellow on a red background, and is without a cover. The tomb was very difficult to enter, and its entrance has now been filled up.[1] Among the coffins and mummies from the great

[1] See Lefébure, *Hypogées Royaux*, Paris, 1890, p. 157 ff.

Dêr al-Baḥarî "find" were the fragments of a wooden coffin which had been painted yellow, and a cover which seemed to belong to them. The name of the original owner had been erased and the prenomen of Rameses I. inscribed in its place; this king's prenomen is found on the fragments written both in hieroglyphics and in the hieratic character. On a piece of the coffin are the fragments of an inscription, which by the help of other similar documents has been completed, and from it we learn that on the 13th day of the fourth month of the season Shat of the 16th year of the reign of Sa-Åmen, , the mummy of Rameses I. was taken from his own tomb into that of queen Ån-Ḥāpu, , which was situated near the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep, in peace. This removal was effected by a priest of Åmen-Rā called Ānkh-f-en-Åmen, , the son of Baki, , who held several high ecclesiastical offices, and was, apparently, a superintendent of the royal tombs. Near the fragments of the coffin was the unswathed mummy of a man of large and powerful build, with short hair and a black skin; this mummy is believed by M. Maspero to have been that of Rameses I., and he thinks that its coffin was broken by the various journeys which it had to undergo when the royal mummies were removed to their hiding-place at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and that the mummy itself was stripped and

plundered by the people who were assisting in hiding it from the professional robbers of royal tombs.[1]

2.  Rā-Maāt-men, son of the Sun, Ptaḥ-meri-en-Seti.



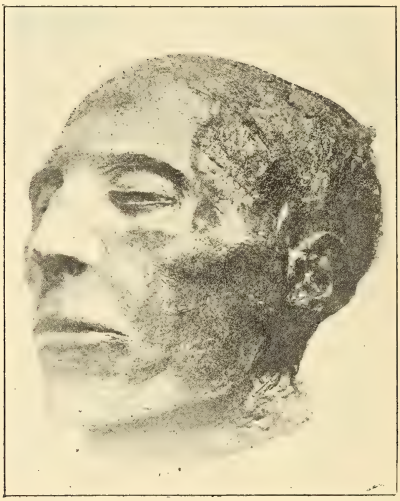
Ka-nekht-khā em-Uast-seānkh-taui, the Horus name of Seti I.

Seti I., or "Seti-mer-en-Ptaḥ" I., was the son of Rameses I.; he married queen Tuâa, , during the reign of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, and by her became the father of Rameses II. According to Manetho he reigned between fifty and fifty-five years, but there is no monumental evidence in support of this statement. The inscriptions prove that he adopted a large number of Horus names, among which may be mentioned:— "Mighty Bull, rising in Thebes, vivifying the two lands," "Mighty Bull, image of Menthu," "Mighty Bull, son of Temu," "Bull of Rā, beloved of Maāt," "Mighty Bull,

[1] M. Maspero relates the following in proof of the excellent manner in which the body had been mummified. The workmen laid the naked mummy in the sun on the sand, and went away to have lunch and their mid-day rest; when they returned they found that one of the arms had moved from its position lengthwise down the body, and was bent at right angles to the breast in a manner which seemed to threaten them. Examination showed that the arm had become contracted through the heat of the sun. *Les Momies*, pp. 552, 553.

resting upon Maāt," etc.; some of his titles were, "He who repeateth [his] births, mighty one of valour, destroyer of the Nine Bows, Mighty one of bows in all lands, subduer of the Menti, stablisher of monuments," etc.

As soon as Rameses I. was dead the nomad



Head of the mummy of Seti I., king of Egypt, B.C. 1370.

tribes and peoples who lived in the Eastern Desert and in Palestine revolted, and his son and successor Seti I. found himself obliged to take the field at once against a formidable confederation of hostile hosts. He set out from Egypt against the wretched "Shasu," , and marched

from the fortress of Tchare, , to Kanāna, , a place which has been thought to be to the south of Hebron; but Kanāna refers to the whole country and not to any one portion of it. The Shasu were defeated in the first battle, and large numbers of them were slain. He next attacked the rebels of Khare, , with the same result, and the king, who is described as the "Sun of Egypt and the moon of all other lands," swept all before him like the god Bāru, , wheresoever he went he slew men, and his soldiers following him up carried away much spoil. The chiefs of Rethennu, or Northern Syria, submitted peacefully, and sang praises to the king, and of the presents which they brought to him he made rich gifts to Åmen-Rā. The city of Kadesh and the fortress of Innuāamu, , were also conquered, and the whole country of the Amorites. The tribes of the Kheta, however, refused to follow this example, and therefore Seti I. marched into their country; he slew their chiefs and passed through their soldiers like a flame of fire, and all that could fled before him.[1] From every part of Syria he obtained either gifts or tribute, and he then retraced his steps to Egypt, leaving the country through which he had

[1] For many of the inscriptions describing these events see Guieyesse in *Recueil*, tom. xi. p. 52 ff.; and for the scenes see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pll. 126–130.

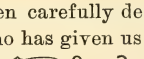
passed a place of desolation and misery. Among the spoil brought back was wood for making a boat for the god Åmen-Rā, and trunks of straight and lofty trees which were to be made into the masts intended to be set up in grooves in front of the main pylons of temples; the wood and the tree trunks came from the Lebanon mountains, famous then, as later, for their lofty cedars and other trees.

When Seti I. arrived at the frontiers of Egypt he was met by the priests and nobles of the country, who received him with shouts of joy, and with all the spoil which he had brought back he set out on the river to make a triumphant progress up the Nile to Thebes. The principal events of the campaign in Palestine and Syria were sculptured on the north and south walls of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and near each was added a full description in hieroglyphics for every man to see. The king was very proud of his achievements and caused lists of the countries, and cities, and villages which he had conquered to be inscribed upon the buildings and monuments which he set up in Egypt and Nubia. Thus on the north wall of the great hall at Thebes Åmen is depicted holding ropes to which are tied by their necks series of representatives of conquered places, each with his name enclosed in a "turreted cartouche"; the base of a sphinx in the temple of Seti I. at Kûrna also contains a long list of names of conquered places; and at Redêsîyeh or Radassîyeh, about forty miles to

the east of Edfu, and at Sesebi in the Third Cataract portions of lists and scenes of conquest have also been found. Seti I. seems to have claimed that he was master of the Libyans, Nubians, people of Punt, nomads of the Eastern Desert, Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, and of Western Asia generally as far eastwards as Neherna, but his court scribes must have exaggerated the size of his kingdom, for it is quite certain that the Kheta were not in any way subject to him at this time, and that their territory was under their own rule. That their power was very great at this period is proved by the fact that not very many years later Rameses II. was obliged, even after his fierce battle with them, to enter into an agreement which certainly did not restore to Egypt any of the possessions which had been hers in the reign of Thothmes III.

As soon as his wars were over Seti I. devoted himself to the building of new temples and the restoration of old ones, and the evidences of his great activity in such works are found throughout Egypt from the north of the Delta to the Third Cataract, and in the Sinaitic peninsula and in Wâdî Ḥammâmât. The quarries at Ḥammâmât were worked for stone for his buildings; the mines at Ṣarbûṭ al-Khâdim were worked for copper and malachite; and it appears that he either worked regularly or carried on experimental works in all the great mines of the Eastern Desert in Nubia. The temple of Redêsîyeh, or Radassîyeh, mentioned above, stands on the old desert road which

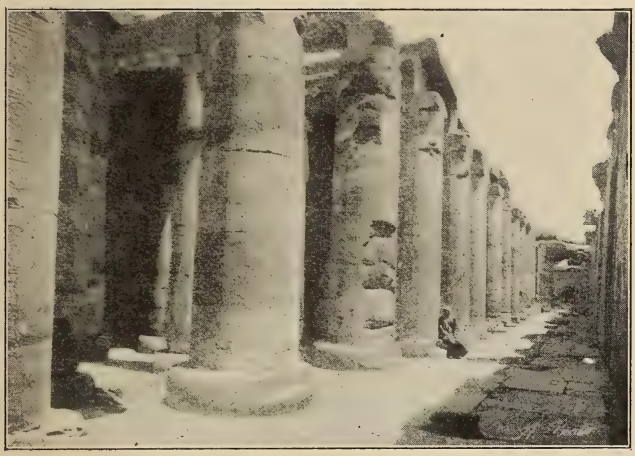
ran from Edfu to the emerald mines of Mount Zâbără, near Berenice on the Red Sea, and it is pretty certain that Seti I. only built it because the mines were being worked for his benefit. As there was a water station, or well, close by, the traveller who had halted there would not only be able to obtain refreshment, but would also become acquainted with the scenes of the prowess of Seti I., which were sculptured inside the temple in the ninth year of his reign. Seti I. either bored, or re-bored a well here, and a small building seems to mark its site to this day; it is probable that he caused a series of water stations to be established from the Nile to Berenice.[1] The local mining agents seem to have made plans of the districts wherein gold or mines of precious stones were situated, and to have had them drawn and painted upon papyrus either for the benefit of new-comers or to supply information about the position of the mines to high officials in Egypt. A plan of this kind was published by Lepsius,[2] and on it we see indicated the footpaths running among the mountains, the position of the government building, which in this case was erected by Seti I., and the places where the workmen are boring into the hills; when viewed in comparison with modern maps it

[1] The whole route has been carefully described by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 75), who has given us the true reading of the name of the goddess Āāsith, , and other curious information.

[2] *Auswahl*, pl. xxii.

appears to be a crude piece of work, but it must be remembered, as Wiedemann has said, that it is the oldest map in the world.

Among the buildings of Seti I. must be specially mentioned those which he carried out at Abydos and Thebes. At Abydos he built the famous temple called

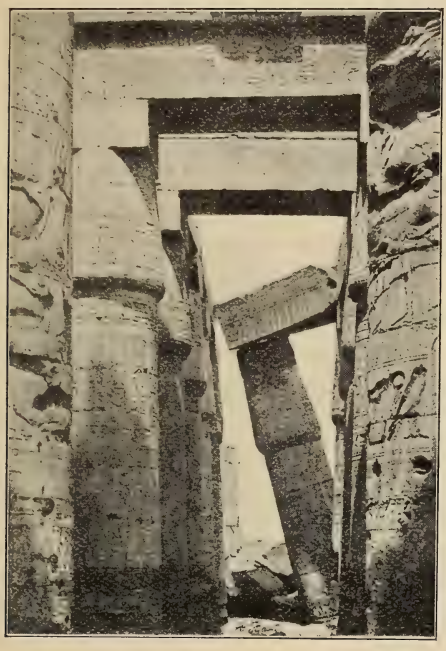


Colonnade of the Temple of Seti I. at Abydos.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

after his own prenomen "Men-Maāt-Rā," but more commonly known from its description by Strabo as the "Memnonium." Abydos was the centre of Osiris worship in Upper Egypt, for there was supposed to be the tomb of the head of the god, and Egyptians loved to be buried there, first, that their bodies might be near the head of Osiris, and secondly, because there

was a widespread belief in the country that close to the city, in the mountains, was the "Gap," , or, "opening" through which disembodied souls made their way into Paradise. Seti's temple was built of fine white limestone, but when the king died it was not finished, and his son Rameses II. completed it. The walls and pillars are ornamented with religious scenes and figures of the gods, and the sculptures and reliefs are among the most beautiful of those to be found in Egypt; for design, proportion, excellence of work, and finish, the reliefs are unequalled under the New Empire. At the end of the temple are seven shrines or chapels, dedicated to Horus, Isis, Osiris, Åmen, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, and Seti I. respectively; behind these is the chief shrine of the god Osiris. One remarkable feature of the temple is the famous King List which Seti I. had inscribed upon the main wall of a corridor of the building at the side of the main edifice. Here we have a list of the names of seventy-six kings, the first being that of Menà or Menes, and the last being that of Seti I.; at one end stand Seti I., making an offering of incense, and his son Rameses II., and they pray that to each of the kings named the triune god Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsàr will give 1000 cakes, 1000 vessels of ale, 1000 cattle, 1000 feathered fowl, etc. The royal names in this list represent the kings for whose spiritual welfare Seti I. prayed at certain seasons, and the list itself is of great importance, for the "Tablet of Abydos," as it is generally called, has

helped us to reconstruct the chronological order of some of the kings of Egypt. It omits many names, and even whole "dynasties," but its historical value is very great.



Hall of Columns at Karnak.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

At Karnak Seti I. carried out many important new works and restorations, but the greatest of them all was done in connexion with the Hypostyle Hall, or Hall of Columns. This marvellous building measured

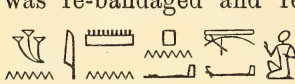
about 340 feet by 168 feet, and contained 134 columns; one of these was set up by Rameses I., 79 by Seti I., and 54 by Rameses II. Twelve columns are 68 feet high and 35 feet in circumference, and 122 are about 43 feet high and 27 feet in circumference. Besides all this Seti I. restored or rebuilt, in whole or in part, the temples of many of his ancestors in all the important cities of Egypt.[1] At Ḳûrna, on the west bank of the Nile, opposite Thebes, he completed and adopted as his own the funeral chapel which had been begun by Rameses I., and formally dedicated it to the worship of himself and his father. This funeral temple was built in connexion with the wonderful tomb in the Valley of the Kings, and the king appears to have intended that services should be held in it instead of in the tomb, which was, comparatively, a long way from the river. The tomb is nearly 350 feet long, and consists of a large number of halls and corridors, and side chapels, all of which are hewn out of the solid rock; the floor of the lowest room is about 100 feet below the level of the valley. It was discovered by Belzoni in 1817, and is commonly called "Belzoni's Tomb," or "No. 17." It is the most beautiful of all the royal tombs, and strikes the beholder with wonder at the vast amount of labour and the skill displayed in making it. The paintings on the walls, etc., suggest that the decoration, and probably every part

[1] Most of these are mentioned by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 421 ff.

of it, was carried out by the sculptors and artists who built Seti's temple to Osiris at Abydos. The inscriptions on the entrance staircase-corridor are selections from the "Book of the Praisings of Rā" and the "Book of [knowing] that which is in the Underworld." According to this last work the world beyond the grave was divided into sections, and the texts of this curious book enabled the deceased to make his way safely through them, even as did the Sun. In one of the chambers entered from the main hall with eight pillars is a remarkable text describing how mankind once on a time rebelled against the Sun-god Rā, and made a mock of him because the god had become old and feeble; they were, however, severely punished, for they were slaughtered by the goddess Sekhet, who "waded about in their blood," and many other calamities came upon them. The goddess Hathor at this time compassed the destruction of mankind.

The large and beautiful white alabaster sarcophagus of the king is preserved in Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, where it was taken by Belzoni; it is said to have been sold to this institution for £2000. It is inscribed[1] with a long series of extracts and vignettes from the "Book of [knowing] what is in the Underworld," and the hieroglyphics were inlaid with blue

[1] For the texts see Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I.*, London, 1864; and for translations see *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 85–134; vol. xii. p. 1 ff.

paste, which was intended to represent lapis-lazuli. The coffin of Seti I. was found with his mummy at Dêr al-Baḥarî. The coffin is painted white, and has eyes inlaid with black and white enamel. Three hieratic inscriptions on it tell us that in the 6th year of the high priesthood of Ḥer-Ḥeru the mummy of Seti I. was re-bandaged and re-interred by Ḥen-Åmen-penā, ; that in the 16th year of the reign of Sa-Åmen it was removed to the tomb of the queen Ån-Ḥāpu; and that in the 10th year of Pai-netchem, who reigned about a century later, the mummy was again moved and taken to the "everlasting abode" of Åmen-ḥetep. The mummy of Seti I. was unrolled on June 9, 1886, when most of its swathings were found to be those originally used, but a few were newer and dated from the XXIst Dynasty. The nose is well-shaped and aquiline, the mouth is long, the lips are thin, the ears are small and round, and are pierced for earrings, the eye-brows are now blackened by bitumen, but were originally white, the head and chin are shaved, the only two teeth visible are well preserved, even as is the whole body. It is thought that Seti died when he was about sixty years of age, and, in view of his knotted fingers, that he suffered from arthritis. M. Maspero thinks that there is a striking resemblance between the features of Seti I. and those of his son Rameses II., only that they are finer and more intelligent; in fact that

the father is an idealized type of the son.[1] Everything that we know about the tomb and funeral furniture and mummy of Seti I. proves that the burial of the king must have been attended with the greatest pomp and ceremony, and it is interesting to note that the religious inscriptions on the walls of the tomb are extracts, not from the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," or the "Book of the Dead," but from works of an entirely different character.



Ushabti figure of king Seti I.
British Museum, No. 22,818.

[1] *Les Momies*, p. 554 ff.; *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 180.

In the inscriptions of Rameses II. found on the temple built by Seti I. at Abydos, we are told that his father associated him with himself in the rule of the kingdom at a very early age, and that he was made the lord of the kingdom when he was a little boy. When as yet he was in the womb of his mother the nobles of the land saluted him and paid homage to him, and when he was still in the habit of sitting on his father's knee the king gave the order and had the child crowned. All this, however, is exaggeration on the part of Rameses II., or we may regard it as oriental hyperbole; in any case, he cannot have been crowned when he was still a little boy being brought up in the women's apartments, for he was not the eldest son of Seti. That Seti I. had a son older than Rameses II. we know from the reliefs which depict his battle scenes, for this prince's figure and titles are found in them. What happened to this prince we have no means of knowing, but he took part in Seti's great Syrian war, being at that time a mature man, and it is possible that he was slain in battle. It is a curious fact that in every case where his figure and titles occur his name has been cut out, and we are forced to come to the same conclusion as Wiedemann,[1] i.e., that the existence of an elder brother must have been disagreeable to Rameses II., and that "he who used with predilection "the monuments of his ancestors as material for his

[1] *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xii., 1890, p. 260; and see *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 419, 420.

"own, would try by all possible means to destroy his "brother's memory; the obliteration of the prince's "name will have been made at his instigation."

The question which has now to be considered is, "Was Rameses II. ever co-regent with Seti I.?" When we consider that the reign of Seti I. was very short, probably not more than twelve or fifteen years,[1] and that extremely few texts exist which can be construed into referring to the co-regency, and that none are dated in it, it is morally certain that the words which Rameses II. allowed to be inscribed on the temple of Seti I. at Abydos are untrue. Moreover, we know that Rameses II., had he been co-regent with his father at the extremely early age which he indicates, would have been incapable of conducting the war against the Kheta, which he tells us he waged in the fifth year of his reign, and that he would not have been old enough to be the father of the grown-up sons who accompanied him on that memorable occasion. The late Dr. Brugsch stated at some length[2] his reasons for believing that Rameses II. was selected co-regent by his father at a very early age, and thought that Seti I. had good reasons for doing so. Seti I. married a lady called Tuâa, who was probably related or connected with the royal house of the Âmen-ḥetep kings, and who had, therefore, in the eyes of the Egyptians, a claim to the throne; Seti himself was not of royal descent, and

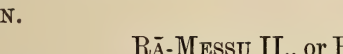
[1] Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 387, note 5.

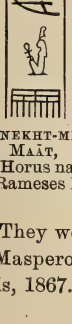
[2] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 22.

could only assert a right to the throne through his wife. Dr. Brugsch argued that the priests of Åmen and the Egyptians hated Tuåa because "her grandfather's blood flowed in her veins" (he assumes that she was the granddaughter of Khu-en-Åten, of which there is no proof); that Seti, who was himself named after the god Set, or Sutekh, was related to a stock that worshipped foreign gods, at the head of which was the "Canaanitish Baal-Sutekh," and that Seti I. felt himself obliged to "avoid an open breach, and to soothe the stubborn caste of the priests of Åmen," even though they hated Rameses' ancestry, by electing the child as co-regent. In answer to this it must be stated that the priests of Åmen, having regained their old position, would have no reason to fear any act of Seti I.; that the views about the name of the king have no foundation; and that, since Seti I. had acquired a claim to the throne through his wife, which was held to be a valid claim by the Egyptians, he could not be regarded as an usurper, as Rameses I. might well have been considered. Dr. Brugsch concludes, "While he "[Seti I.] actually ruled the land as king, Rameses, his "son, as legitimate sovereign, gave authority to all the "acts of his father."[1] It is, however, certain that Rameses II. counted the years of his reign from the year in which his father died, that the years of his life when he ascended the throne were many more in number than the years of his father's reign, that he

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 25.

was a man when he ascended the throne, and that in his battle with the Kheta, which took place in the fifth year of his reign, he had sons with him who were young men. The inscriptions at Abydos [1] which record the early history of Rameses II. have the same pompous and inflated style as the description of the great battle of that king which was composed, or perhaps, strictly speaking, copied, by the court scribe and poet-laureate Pentaur, or Pentaurt, and they may be regarded as narratives written rather to please and flatter the king than to serve any historical purpose.

3.  RĀ-USER-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESSU-MERI-ĀMEN.



KA-NEKHT-MERI-MAĀT, the Horus name of Rameses II.

RĀ-MESSU II., or RAMESES II., Ῥάμψης, or Ῥαψάκης, was the son of Seti I. and the queen Tuáa, who seems to have been connected with the royal house of the Āmen-ḥetep kings; the year of his age when he ascended the throne is unknown, but, as he was conducting his great war against the Kheta five years later, accompanied by grown-up sons, he certainly cannot have been less than twenty-five

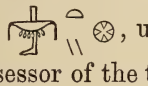
[1] They were published with interlinear text and translation by M. Maspero in *Essai sur l'inscription dédicatoire du temple d'Abydos*, Paris, 1867.

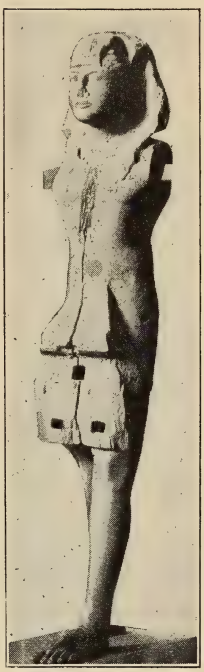
years of age when he was crowned. He adopted as his Horus name "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt," and a very large number of epithets which we find applied to him in the inscriptions were regarded as Horus names and treated accordingly, being placed in rectangular enclosures within which the Horus,



Head of the mummy of Rameses II. Full face.

or *ka*, names were usually written. In addition to his titles, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and "Uatchet, master of Egypt, conqueror of foreign "countries, Horus of gold, mighty one of years, great "of strength," he is called "Exalter of Thebes, he who "rises in Thebes, vivifier of the two lands son of Set,

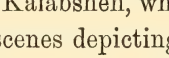
"son of Åmen, son of Temu, son of Ptaḥ-Tanen, "son of Kheperà, son of Åmen, mighty of two-fold "strength, firm of heart, power of two-fold strength, "valiant warrior, smiter of the "Asiatics, lord of festivals, be-"loved of the two lands, king "of kings, bull of princes, mighty "one of valour like his father Set "in Nubti, , upholder of "Maāt, possessor of the two lands," etc.[1] Although, as we have already seen, it is improbable that Rameses II. was crowned king of Egypt when he was still a little child living in the women's quarters in the palace, we are right in thinking that he was trained with the soldiers and accustomed to military command when he was ten or twelve years of age. Besides his military appointments he held the offices of counsellor and overseer of certain lands, and Seti I. spared no pains to qualify him to become a wise and able prince. In the reign of Seti I. Rameses



Wooden statue of Rameses II. from the king's tomb. Brit. Mus., No. 882.

[1] The texts of these and of many other titles will be found in *Le Livre des Rois* (ed. Brugsch and Bouriant), p. 65 ff.

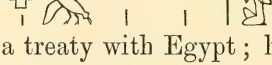
took part in certain raids which were made upon the Libyans and other tribes living on the west and north-west frontiers of Egypt, and he was present at several fights with the Nubians in various parts of their country. He continued the wars in Nubia during the first two or three years of his reign, and they were waged with such fierceness that it seems as if some of the tribes of that country must have tried to shake off the yoke of Egypt, and to cease from the payment of tribute to the new king.

The principal memorial of his wars in Nubia, Libya, and Syria is the little rock-hewn temple at Bêt al-Walli near Kalâbsheh, where, on the two sides of the vestibule, are scenes depicting the principal events of these wars, the capture of prisoners, and the receipt of tribute. In the Libyan war the king was accompanied by his son Âmen-ḥer-khepesh-f, , who is represented as bringing prisoners before his father; Rameses was also accompanied by his favourite dog, which attacked the foe at the same time as his master. The Syrians, as usual, took refuge in their fortresses, but they availed them nought, for their entrances were forced by the Egyptian soldiers and, if we may trust the picture on the wall, the Syrians were put to the sword by the king whilst they were in the very act of tendering submission and pleading for mercy. The scenes which illustrate the Nubian campaigns are more interesting, for we see the king seated in state and

receiving the gifts brought to him by the natives. These gifts consisted of gold rings, leopard or panther skins, prisoners, apes, panthers, giraffes, oxen, gazelles, ostriches, ebony, bows, feathers, fans, chairs of state, tusks of elephants, a lion, an antelope, etc., and it is clear that they must, for the most part, have been brought from the country to the south of the Fourth Cataract. On his Nubian campaign Rameses was accompanied by his sons Åmen-ḥer-unami-f, , and Khā-em-Uast, , who are seen in their chariots charging the Nubians, and performing mighty deeds of valour. From the accounts given of the battles in Nubia it does not appear that Rameses did anything more than make certain tribes pay tribute; he does not seem to have made his way as far to the south as some of his predecessors had done, and he certainly added no new territory to the Egyptian possessions in Nubia.

In the fourth year of his reign Rameses was engaged in a military expedition in Syria, a fact proved by the memorial stele which he set up on the rocks overhanging the left or south bank of the Nahr al-Kalb, or "Dog River," near its mouth. Here the king is seen thrusting into the presence of the god Menthu a Syrian prisoner, who has his hands tied behind him, and whom he holds by a feather placed on the top of his head. At the Dog River there are three stelae of Rameses II., and one of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, who set his

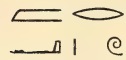
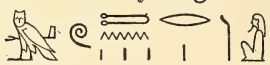
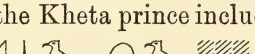
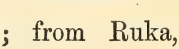
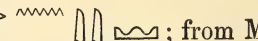
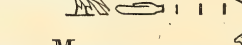
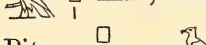
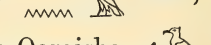
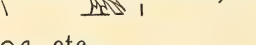
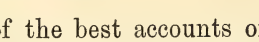
up on his return from the conquest of Egypt, to commemorate the capture of Memphis by him in the year B.C. 670. The inscriptions on all three stelae of Rameses are obliterated and the dates of two of the three; the third stele is perhaps dated in the fourth year of the king's reign, for it is probable that when Dr. Lepsius saw it the four strokes, which stand for the numeral "4," were distinctly legible after the word for "year" , but when the writer saw the stele in October, 1890, it was impossible to say what the exact number of the strokes had been.

We have already seen that in the XVIIIth Dynasty the Kheta formed an enemy of Egypt who was by no means to be despised, and that though the Egyptian kings of the latter part of the dynasty claimed to have subdued them and reduced them to the state of vassals, it is by no means certain that they really did so. Since the reign of Thothmes III. they had been gradually forcing their way into Syria, and by the time that Rameses II. had ascended the throne the authority of the prince of the Kheta reached as far as Kadesh. As a result of the arrangements which had been made between the Kheta princes and Ḥeru-em-ḥeb, Rameses I., and Seti I., the limit of Egypt's possessions in Syria was marked by the Dog River. The prince of the Kheta in the time of Ḥeru-em-ḥeb was called Saparuru, , and he seems to have made a treaty with Egypt; his son and successor



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

Rameses II. in his chariot charging into the enemy on one side of the river Orontes whilst his charioteers attack them on the other. The pet lion of Rameses is seen in his chariot, and is about to spring on the foe.

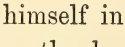
Mārusaru, , also made a treaty with Egypt, and there was peace between the two countries until his son began to rule over the peoples of the Kheta. This young man, who was called Māuthenre, , for some reason thought fit to stir up a war against Egypt, and it was to meet and defeat the Kheta in this war that Rameses was obliged to prepare. The prince of the Kheta had gathered together a number of powerful allies, such as the kings of Aleppo, and Karkĕmish, and Aradus, and Kadesh, and hosts of soldiers belonging to the tribes who had their homes in the country further to the west; on the other hand, Rameses II. employed large numbers of mercenaries, among whom were the Shardana, the Shirdani of the Tell el-'Amarna Tablets. The allies of the Kheta prince included people from Qitchaua [ṭan], ; from Mushanth, ; from Ruka, ; from Ṭarṭenui, ; from Masa, ; from Maunna, ; from Piṭasa, ; from Qarqisha, , etc.

One of the best accounts of the battle of Rameses against the Kheta ever drawn up is found on a



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

The horses in the chariot of Rameses II. trampling on the foe, and the general attack by his troops.

stele in the rock-hewn temple at Abû Simbel in Nubia, and as it is comparatively brief and to the point a rendering of it is here given:—"On the ninth day of "the third month of the season Shemut (i.e., the month "Epiphi), under the reign of his majesty of Horus, the "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt, the king of the South "and North, Ra-user-Maāt-setep-en-Rā, the sun of the "Sun, Rāmessu, beloved of Åmen, the giver of life for "ever, behold, his majesty was in the country of "Tchah, , during his second expedition. A very "strict guard was being kept in the camp of his "majesty on the country to the south of the city of "Kadesh, . His majesty rose up like the god "Rā, and he arrayed himself in the glorious apparel "of his father Menthu; the lord continued to move "forward, and his majesty arrived at the south of the "town of Shabtun, . Then two "members of the Shasu came and said to him, 'Our "brethren who are chiefs of the tribes that are with "the wretched Kheta have made us come to your "majesty to inform you that we are prepared to become "servants of your majesty, and that we are not in any "way in league with the wretched Kheta. Now the "wretched Kheta have pitched their camp in the "country of Khirebu,  (i.e. Aleppo), "to the north of Tunep, , being afraid that



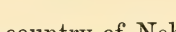
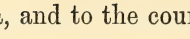
Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
The attack on the fortified city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

"your majesty will go out to attack them.' In this wise "did the two Shasu speak, but they spake these words "with foul intent, for the wretched Kheta had made "them to go and spy out where his majesty was before "he was able to arrange his troops in battle array, and "to prepare for his attack; meanwhile the wretched "Kheta had gathered themselves together, with the "chiefs of all the neighbouring lands, and their "soldiers, and their horsemen, whom they had collected "in large numbers, and the whole force was drawn up, "and lying in ambush behind the wretched city of "Kadesh, and his majesty had no information whatever "concerning their arrangements.

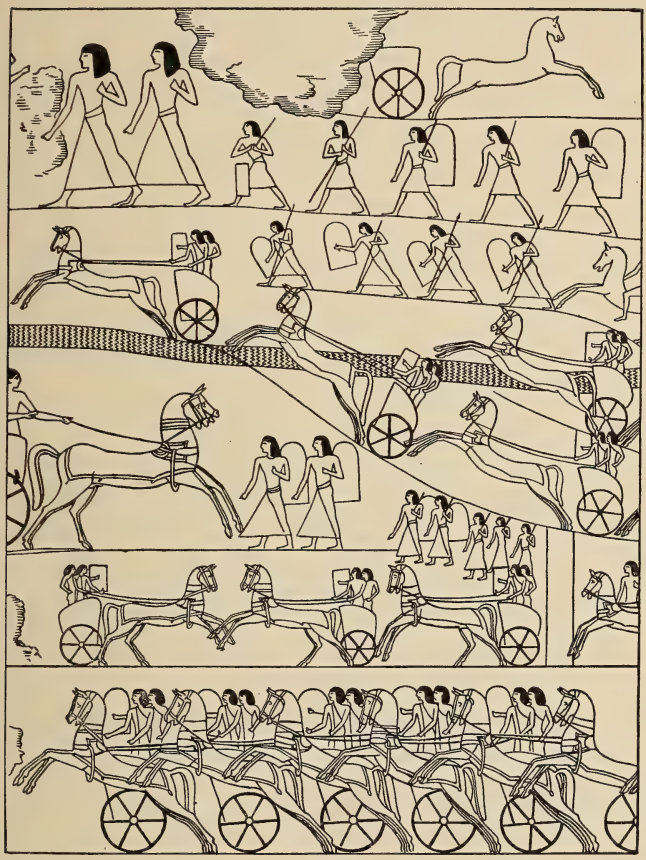
"Then his majesty drew on to the north-west of the "city of Kadesh, where his troops pitched their camp. "When his majesty had seated himself upon his throne "of gold, certain of his scouts came in bringing with "them before him two spies belonging to the wretched "Kheta. When these had been brought before his "majesty, the king said to them, 'Who are ye?' And "they replied, 'We belong to the wretched Kheta chief "who has made his servants to come and find out where "your majesty is.' And his majesty said unto them, "'Where is the wretched Kheta chief? I have heard "it said that he is in the country of Khirebu' (i.e., "Aleppo). And they said, 'Behold, the wretched "Kheta chief is with the innumerable hosts of people "which he has gathered together unto him, that is to "say, all the nations belonging to the country of



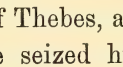
Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
The attack on the fortified city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

"Kheta, and to the country of Nehiren, 
"(i.e., Western Babylonia), and to the country of Qeṭi,
" (i.e., Phoenicia), and he has soldiers and
"men with horses that are for number even as the
"sands on the sea-shore, and behold, they stand all
"ready to do battle behind the wretched city of
"Kadesh.' Then his majesty called his officers into
"his presence in order that he might inform them con-
"cerning all the things which the two spies of the
"Kheta had said unto him there. [And he said to
"them] 'Find out how it is that those who have been
"in charge of the soldiers and of outpost duty in the
"region where his majesty hath been, have reported
"as certain that the wretched Kheta chief was in the
"country of Khirebu, whither he had fled as soon as
"he heard of him. It was their duty to report to his
"majesty information which is correct. Ye see now
"that which I have just made known unto you,
"through the information received from the two spies
"of the country of the Kheta, how that the chief of
"that country hath arrived with followers innumerable,
"and men and horses which are for number even as the
"sand which is on the sea shore, and that he is now
"behind the wretched city of Kadesh, and yet the
"officers who are over the soldiers and outpost duty in
"the regions where I am have had no knowledge
"thereof!'

When these words had been said the generals

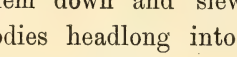


Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

"who had been called into his majesty's presence "admitted that a fault of the gravest kind had "been committed by those who were in charge of the "district, inasmuch as they had not informed his "majesty where the wretched chief of the Kheta had "taken up his position. And when the generals had "spoken his majesty gave the command to hurry on "the march of the soldiers who were to the south of "the city of Shabtun, and to bring them to the place "where he was as soon as possible. Now at that "moment whilst his majesty was sitting in council with "his officers, the wretched chief of the Kheta came "with his soldiers, and his horsemen, and his allies "who were gathered together unto him from every "nation, and they crossed over the ditch which was at "the south of Kadesh, and they made their way into "the midst of the soldiers of his majesty as they were on "the march, and they knew it not. Then the soldiers "and horsemen of his majesty quailed before them, and "ran to the place where his majesty was, and the "warriors of the wretched Kheta prince hemmed in the "bodyguard of his majesty. As soon as his majesty "saw them he raged at them like his father Menthu, "the lord of Thebes, and having girded on his panoply "of war he seized his lance, and being like unto the "god Bār, , in his hour, he mounted his "chariot and charged the enemy rapidly. His majesty "dashed into the midst of the mass of the enemy, and



The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

"like the most mighty god Sutekh, , he hewed "them down and slew them, and cast their dead "bodies headlong into the waters of the Orontes, " *Árenuth.* 'I was,' said the king, "'by myself, for my soldiers and my horsemen had "forsaken me, and not one of them had been sufficiently "bold to come to my assistance. I dedicate my love "to Rā, and my praise to my father Temu. What I "have just described that I myself performed in very "truth in the presence of my soldiers and my horse-"men.'" [1]

The information to be derived from the above may, however, be supplemented by some important facts which are to be gleaned from the heroic poem usually attributed to the scribe Pen-ta-urt, and composed some little time after the official account which has been translated above. According to this document,[2] the Kheta hosts covered the mountains and filled the valleys like locusts, and every inhabitant of the country was dragged by the prince of Kheta to the fight. The Egyptian host was divided into four great armies, i.e., the army of Åmen, which marched with the king, the army of Rā, which occupied the

[1] A good edition of the Egyptian text and a French translation of the inscription will be found in *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 126 ff.

[2] For the hieratic text see *Select Papyri*, ed. Birch, vol. i. pll. xxiv.–xxxiv.; and see de Rougé, *Le Poème de Pen-ta-our*, Paris, 1856.

ditch on the west of the town of Shabtun, the army of Ptaḥ, which occupied a middle position, and the army of Sutekh, which marched along the roads of the country. The enemy's host attacked the army of Rā, which retreated before the attack of the pick of the Kheta army, supported as it was by chariots, each containing three warriors; it was then that the king charged into the enemy at headlong speed, but he found soon afterwards that he was surrounded by "two thousand five hundred pairs of horses," and that his retreat was barred by the bravest of all the



Capture of Kheta soldiers and mutilation of the dead.

Kheta troops. In these straits Rameses cried out to Àmen, and asked the god where he was, and why he did not come to his help, and he spake to the god, saying, "Have I for nought dedicated to thee temples, and "filled them with prisoners, and given thee of all my "substance, and made the whole country to pay tribute "unto thee, and ten thousand oxen, besides sweet-"smelling woods of every kind? I never stayed my "hand from doing that which thou wishedst. I have "built for thee pylons and other edifices in stones, I "have raised up to thee pillars which will last for ever, "and I have brought obelisks for thee from Ābu (i.e., "Elephantine). I brought stone for thee, and I made "ships to sail on the sea and bring back the products "of foreign lands. Behold, O Àmen, I am in the "midst of multitudes of men who have banded them-"selves together against me, and I am alone, and no "one is with me, for all my soldiers and charioteers "have forsaken me; I cried out unto them, but none "hearkened unto me. But thou, O Àmen, art more "to me than millions of warriors, and hundreds of "thousands of horses, and tens of thousands of brothers "and sons, even if they were here all together; the "acts of hosts of men are as nothing, and Àmen is "better than them all." The god Àmen stretched out his hand to the king, and said, "I am with thee, I am "thy father Rā. My power is with thee, and I am "better than hundreds of thousands [of men] united." Then the king charged, and the five thousand horses



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

of the enemy were crushed before his horses, and no man lifted a hand to oppose his onset; the enemy fell dead beneath his blows, and when they had once fallen they never moved again.

When the prince of Kheta and the other princes saw what was happening they fled. But the king's charioteer, called Menna, became afraid, for he saw that the king's charge had carried him away from the main body of the Egyptian troops, and that they were surrounded by foes, and he begged Rameses to stop. The king laughed at his fears, and told him that he would slay his enemies and dash them down in the dust, and bidding him to be of good courage he charged the enemy for the sixth time. After this charge he reproached his charioteers for being cowards, and told them that they were worthless as friends in the day of adversity; he then enumerated to them the benefits which he had conferred upon Egypt, and roundly abused them for being craven-hearted men. No weapon wielded by the enemy touched the king, and on the morning following the second day's fight a man could scarcely find a place on the battle-field whereon to set his foot, because the whole plain was covered with corpses. After the battle was over Rameses thought with gratitude of his two noble horses called "Victory in Thebes," and "The goddess Mut is content," for it was they that had strengthened his hand and supported him when he was surrounded by that hostile multitude, and he decreed

that when he was in his palace again he would always have their fodder brought to them in his presence so that he might see them fed; and he did not forget to



Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
A company of Egyptian spearmen.

mention honourably the charioteer Menna, who alone out of all his band of trusted servants had remained

with him in his brave charge, and he named him the "captain of the horsemen." There is, unfortunately, no mention of the tame lion which accompanied Rameses in his chariot, and attacked the foe from time to time; it is, however, to be hoped that he was not slain by the Kheta.

When the prince of the Kheta saw how serious had been his defeat he sent a messenger to Rameses asking him to stay his hand, for he and his princes saw that the gods Sutekh and Bār were in the king, and that another day's battle would almost depopulate the country. Rameses hearkened to these representations, and decided to fight the Kheta no more, and to return to the land of Egypt. It is noteworthy that there is no mention either of the giving of gifts or of the payment of tribute by the peoples of the Kheta, and it is clear that both sides must have lost heavily. Rameses was, however, very proud of his achievements in the Kheta war, and he caused narratives of it to be inscribed upon the walls of the temples of Abydos and Thebes, and reliefs to be made near them to illustrate the principal events in it, such as the capture of the two spies of the Kheta, and the council of war, and the flight of the defeated to the city of Kadesh, and the siege of Kadesh, and the death of the prince of Aleppo, who was cast down headlong into the waters of the Orontes. The prince of the Kheta had collected an army eight or nine thousand strong, without reckoning the horsemen and charioteers, who seem to

have been in number about seven thousand five hundred; the number of the Egyptian soldiers and charioteers is not mentioned. The prince of the Kheta kept in



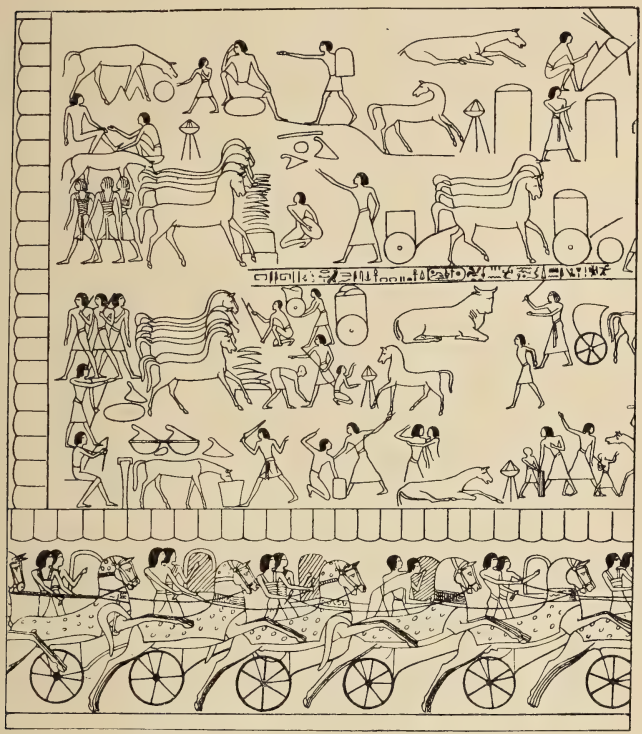
The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

reserve a force of the Tuhire, , but he had no opportunity of despatching them to the

assistance of their comrades who were routed on all sides. The Kheta allies evidently made a great effort to eject the Egyptians from Syria, and it is probable that they would have succeeded but for the incident of the capture of the two spies, who were beaten by the soldiers of Rameses and made to say where the Kheta army had taken up its position. That this incident was regarded by the king as of great importance is evident from the fact that he caused a scene to be sculptured on his temple walls, in which the beating of the spies with long sticks is represented; in fact the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Army was badly managed, and it is difficult not to think that disaster was only averted from Rameses by the fortunate discovery of the two spies. In the account of the battle ascribed to Pen-ta-urt we observe the same foolish exaggeration which is apparent in the texts relating to the early history of Rameses which are found at Abydos, and it must be hoped that the soldiers never read the texts on the temple walls in which the Egyptian Army is so roundly abused; moreover, the sculptures which Rameses himself caused to be made prove that he was not so utterly isolated on the field of battle as he represents. That the battle against the Kheta was a serious affair is quite clear, and it seems as if the Egyptians engaged an enemy numerically superior to themselves and held their own against him, but that is all that can be said for them, for Rameses acquired no new territory as the

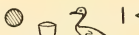
result of the fight, and he regained none of Egypt's old possessions in Syria.

But the power of the Kheta had not been broken by



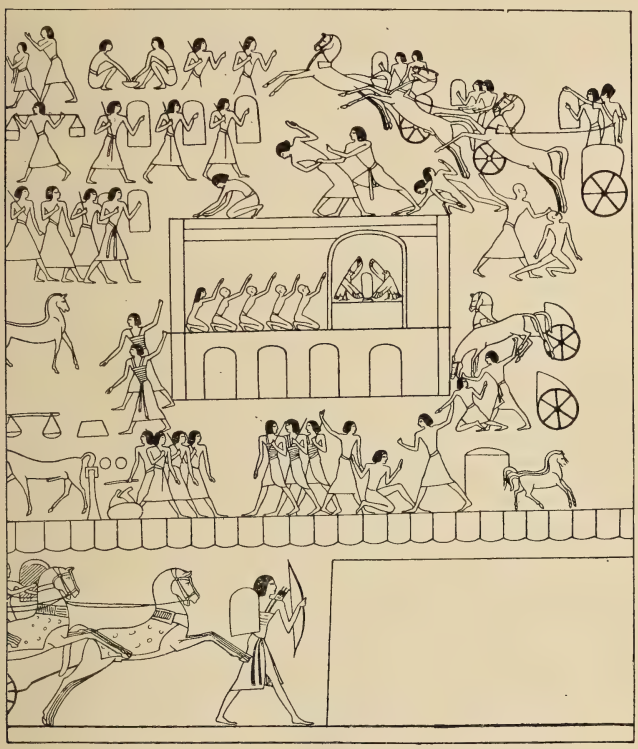
The Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.
Scene in the Egyptian camp.

the Egyptians, and as soon as Rameses had returned to Egypt the prince of the Kheta and his allies began

to collect their forces once more and to prepare to fight again with Rameses. In the eighth and three following years of his reign Rameses was obliged to march into Syria to put down revolts which had broken out in and about the old fortress city of Ascalon; but when this rising had been suppressed another broke out in the north at Tunep, the inhabitants of which never lost an opportunity of rebelling against the Egyptian rule. Rameses claims to have captured the city on the second assault which he delivered against it, and to have made himself master of the neighbouring country, but there is no proof of it, and it is improbable that he did so. Matters went on in this unsatisfactory manner for Egypt for some years, but at length an arrangement was made between the prince of the Kheta, who was called Kheta-sar, , and Rameses II., which was embodied in a definite treaty[1] between the two kings. The Egyptian version of the text of this treaty was inscribed upon the western face of the wall which leads from the south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak to the first pylon on the north, and also on the walls of the Ramesseum, and the composition was thought much of by Rameses; from this text we learn that the original document was inscribed upon a tablet of silver which was deposited

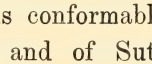
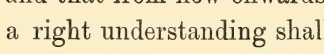
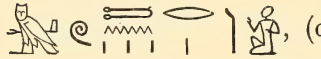
[1] For the hieroglyphic text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 146; Bouriant in *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 153 ff.; and for an English translation see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 25 ff.

in the building in the Delta, part palace and part fortress, where the king of Egypt loved to live. The treaty is dated on the twenty-first day of the season



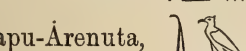
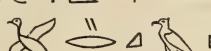
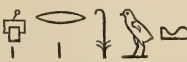
Battle of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

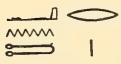
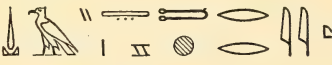
Pert, of the twenty-first year of the reign of Rameses II., and sets forth that at this time the king was in

the city of Per-Rāmessu-meri-Ȧmen, , and that he was in the temple making offerings to his father Ȧmen, and to Ḥeru-khuti, and Temu, and Ptaḥ, and Sutekh, the son of Nut, and other gods. Whilst he was there his ambassador to Asia, Rā-mes, , came into his presence leading the Kheta ambassador Tarthisebu, ,[1] who carried in his hand a silver tablet inscribed in the Kheta language with the terms of the treaty which Kheta-sar, the king of Kheta, declared himself ready to accept and to abide by. Kheta-sar refers to the old treaties which existed between his ancestors and those of the king of Egypt, and goes on to say that the treaty now proposed is conformable to the will of Ȧmen the god of Egypt, and of Sutekh the god of Kheta land, and that from now onwards and for ever friendship and a right understanding shall exist between himself and Rameses. Kheta-sar will be the ally of Rameses, and Rameses shall be his ally. He has always striven to be friendly with the king of Egypt, and he objected strongly to the war which his brother Māuthenure, , (or, Mutallu) waged against Egypt, and after his death (i.e., murder by Kheta-sar)

[1] This is the reading given by Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, tom. i. pl. 228, line 5.

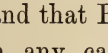
he ascended the throne of Kheta and strove for peace. He and his sons will for evermore be at peace with Rameses and his sons; he will not invade Egypt, and Rameses must not invade Kheta, and he will observe the treaty which his great ancestor Saparere, , and his brother made with the kings of Egypt.

If any foe shall invade Egypt he will bring troops and help Rameses to eject them, but he does not promise to command his troops in person, and Rameses must send troops to help him if his territory be invaded by any foe. Each king is, moreover, to restore to the other any subjects who for any reason may wish to escape from their own country. All the terms of the treaty refer to the relations which Kheta-sar wished to exist between himself and Rameses, and he calls all the gods and goddesses of the land of Kheta and of the land of Egypt to be witnesses of his honourable intent. Among these are mentioned Sutekh, lord of heaven, Sutekh, lord of Kheta, Sutekh, lord of Ârenna, , Sutekh, lord of Thapu-Ârenuta, , Sutekh, lord of Paireqa, , Sutekh, lord of Khisasapa, , Sutekh, lord of Saresu, , Sutekh, lord of Khirepa

(Aleppo), , Sutekh, lord of Rekhasna, , Sutekh, lord of Mukhi-paina, , Ānthrethâ , of Kheta, the god of Tchai-tath-khereri, , Shasakhire, , "mistress of mountains," and the gods of the land of Qitchauaṭana, .

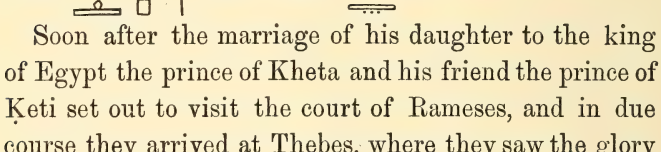
Then follow a blessing on those who shall observe this treaty and a curse upon those who shall not; the gods of Kheta and Egypt will punish everyone who treats it with contempt, but will give him that honoureth it a good reward, and a long life, and will preserve him and his family, and his servants and their families. Upon the silver tablet were impressed the seal, that is to say a picture, of the god Sutekh, the seal, or picture, of Rā, the lord of heaven, and of Rā, the lord of Ârenena, and the seal of the king of Kheta, Kheta-sar, and of the queen of Kheta, whose name is given as Puukhipa,[1] , of the country of Qitchauaṭana.

[1] Bouriant, *Recueil*, tom. xiii. p. 160.

The latter part of the queen's name indicates that this lady was of Mitannian origin, and it at once calls to remembrance the names of Gilukhipa and Tatumkhipa, the sister and daughter of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who married kings of Egypt. It seems that Khipa itself was a proper name as late as B.C. 710, for under the form , it occurs as the name of a female slave on a small tablet in the British Museum,[1] which was perhaps worn as a ticket of identification by the woman herself, who was probably a Mitannian slave. At the end of the text of the treaty as proposed by Kheta-sar follow a number of lines which seem to represent the additional clauses which Rameses felt bound to add to it on his own initiative, and which refer to the extradition of malefactors, and the sending back to their own country of those who seek to settle in Egypt from Kheta, or in Kheta from Egypt. The treaty proves that the king of Kheta regarded himself as the equal of the king of Egypt, and that Rameses was obliged to admit that he was; in any case, the treaty was one of friendly reciprocity, and precludes all possibility of the existence of Egyptian possessions in Syria. Thirteen years after the concluding of the treaty, i.e., in the 34th year of his reign, Rameses married Ur-maā-neferu-Rā, , the daughter of the prince of the Kheta, whom he raised to the rank of great queen of

[1] No. K. 3787; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 564.

Egypt. Her Kheta name is unknown, but on the stele at Abû Simbel[1] she is arrayed like an Egyptian princess, though her father is represented wearing the characteristic conical hat of the Kheta and the long, coat-like garment. An allusion to this queen seems to be made in the speech of the god Ptaḥ, who, in describing the great things which he has done for Rameses, says that he has made the land of Kheta to be subject to his palace, that the inhabitants thereof bring offerings, that the possessions of their chiefs belong to the king of Egypt, and that at the head of them all is the eldest daughter of the prince of Kheta "who maketh to be at peace the heart of the lord of the two lands,"



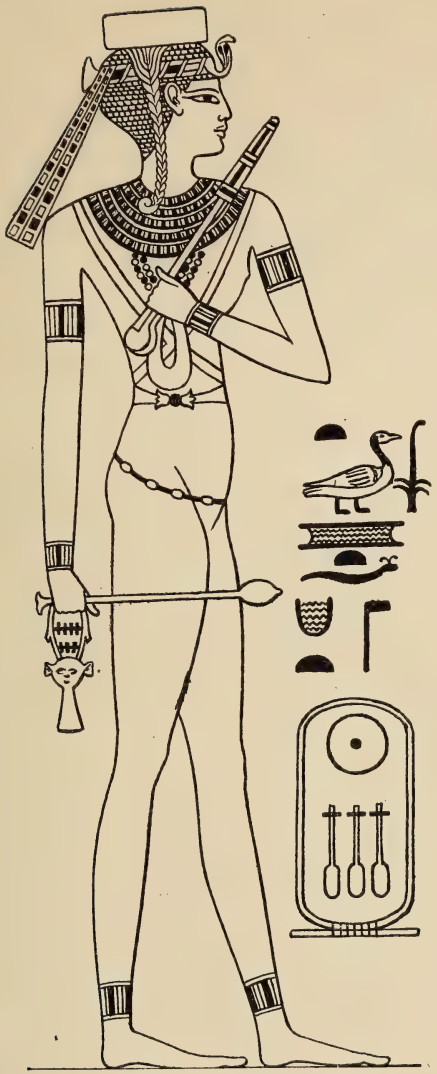
[2]

Soon after the marriage of his daughter to the king of Egypt the prince of Kheta and his friend the prince of Ḳeti set out to visit the court of Rameses, and in due course they arrived at Thebes, where they saw the glory and state of the princess of Kheta in her new position as queen of Egypt.

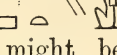
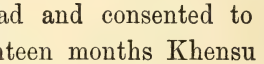
The remembrance of this marriage was preserved in a remarkable manner by the priests of Khensu, who set up a stele to commemorate the healing of the queen's sister by the might of their god. Soon after the king had married the Kheta lady Rā-maā-

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 196.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 194, l. 26.



The daughter of the Asiatic prince whom Rameses II. married, and to whom he gave the name Rā-neferu.

ur-neferu messengers came to him from her native country to say that her young sister Bent-reshet, , was very ill, and to ask that a physician might be sent to heal her. Rameses despatched the royal scribe Teḥuti-emḥeb to Bekhten, but when he arrived there he found that the princess was possessed of a devil over which he had no power. The father of the princess, who is described as the Prince of Bekhten, sent to Egypt once more and asked Rameses to send a god to heal his daughter. Thereupon Rameses went into the temple and asked the god Khensu-Nefer-ḥetep, , if he would go to Bekhten and heal the princess, and the god nodded his head and consented to do so. After a journey of seventeen months Khensu arrived in Bekhten, and when he was taken to the place where the sick princess Bent-reshet was, he made use upon her of his marvellous saving power, and she was healed straightway. The devil that had possessed her came forth out of her and acknowledged the supremacy of the god of Egypt; the prince of Bekhten tried to keep the god in the country, but Khensu willed otherwise, and at length the prince sent him back with his priests, and boats, and cavalcade, and with rich gifts to Egypt, where he arrived in the 33rd year of the reign of Rameses II.[1] The version of

[1] Copies of the text will be found in Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, tom. ii. pl. 48; and Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. 24.

the incident here described was drawn up long after the marriage of the king with the Kheta princess, and it seems that the priests made a mistake in supposing that their god went to Bekhten before the king's marriage which, judging from the stele at Abû Simbel, took place in the 34th year of his reign.

During the years which followed his campaigns in Palestine and Syria Rameses devoted himself to the completion of the buildings which his father Seti I. had begun, and to the erection of edifices which he adorned with statues of himself, and obelisks, etc., and to the repairs of old shrines in various parts of Egypt and Nubia. The monumental remains which are found from one end of Egypt to the other testify to the



The Horus name of Rameses II. surmounted by the vault of heaven, and supported on a standard with human arms and hands. The right hand grasps a standard on which is the "royal *ka*" of the king, and the left hand the feather of Maât.

vastness of his building operations generally, but it is certain that Rameses was in the habit of usurping statues, sphinxes, etc., and that when he repaired a temple or sanctuary he caused his name to be inscribed upon walls, doorposts, lintels, etc., in such a way as to make the beholder think that the whole edifice had been erected by himself. He added columns of texts containing glorifications of himself to the obelisks set up by his ancestors, and it is wonderful how he contrived to find the means which resulted in his name being found in every temple and fortress, and sanctuary of any importance in Egypt. Besides this, he re-worked the monuments of his ancestors, with the result that the names of those who made them disappeared entirely.

The greatest of all the works of Rameses II. is the famous temple in Nubia, which is hewn out of the solid rock of a mountain on the left or west bank of the Nile at Abû Simbel. It is dedicated to Åmen of Thebes, Rā-Ḥeru-khuti of Heliopolis, and Ptaḥ of Memphis, and in later times Rameses II. was himself worshipped there. Whether the credit for the whole building belongs to this king or not, whether he "re-worked," or modified, or completed what an earlier king had begun matters little to us, for it is certain that this temple is one of the most marvellous architectural works of the ancient Egyptians. The temple is approached by a flight of steps leading to a kind of court; here in front of the

temple, two on each side of the door, are four seated colossal statues of Rameses II., each sixty feet high, which have been hewn out of the living rock.

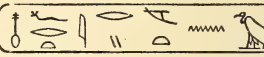
The front of the temple is about one hundred feet wide and is over ninety feet in height; above it is a cornice decorated with twenty-one dog-headed apes. The temple itself is about 185 feet long, and consists



The temple of Rameses II. at Abû Simbel.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

of a large hall measuring about 60 feet by 25 feet, wherein are eight square pillars about 30 feet high, each with a colossal figure of Osiris 17 feet high standing against it, and of a small hall measuring about 35 feet by 25 feet, supported by four pillars; in this hall are the sanctuary and the altar. In connection

with this temple may be mentioned that dedicated to the goddess Hathor which lies to the north of it; here the front of the temple measures about 92 feet by 40 feet, and four of the six statues, which are over 30 feet in height, are of Rameses II., while the other two are of his wife Nefert-âri-mert-en-Mut .

Passing to the north of Egypt we find that Rameses II. practically rebuilt Tanis, which he made his capital and to which he gave an importance almost equal to that of Thebes or Memphis. It is a remarkable fact that few of the kings of the New Empire seemed to realize the great importance of possessing a capital near Syria; Thebes was too far away for the king, when there, to be able to control events effectively in the Delta, and it was impossible to strike quickly in Palestine from that distance. Tanis was a beautiful city in the reign of Rameses, and its temples and obelisks must have provoked the wonder and admiration of all the Semitic settlers in that part of the country; curiously enough, Rameses, who in Thebes was never tired of proclaiming his devotion to Âmen and of boasting what great things he had done for the god, was in Tanis always paying honour to Sutekh, and Bār, and other deities, who were abominated by the Egyptians of Upper Egypt as being the gods of the Hyksos whom they so much detested. It may have been an act of political expedience on the part of Rameses II. to proclaim his worship of Semitic gods

in a country which was inhabited by Semitic peoples, but it is not an act which would have approved itself to the great warrior kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty; his toleration of the Semites is further proved by the "Stele of Four Hundred Years" (see vol. iii. p. 157), i.e., the stele so called because it is dated in the four hundredth year of the era which began with the year of the founding of the city of Tanis by Nubti, a Hyksos king. At Heliopolis and Memphis Rameses carried out some important architectural works, and at the former place, according to Pliny,[1] he set up four obelisks. At Abydos he completed the temple which his father Seti I. had begun to build, and he tells us in the inscriptions which



The Flaminian Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome.
The centre column of text was inscribed by Seti I., and the outer column of text by Rameses II.

[1] Bk. xxxvi. chap. 14; Rameses is here called Sesosthes.

he placed on its walls he had ordered the works to be continued in the very year wherein his father died. Rameses also relates at length the great things which he did for the temple, and gives the texts of the prayers which he made to the god, and of the speeches which he made to his father, and of Seti's reply. At no great distance from the temple of Seti I., or the Memnonium as Strabo calls it, Rameses II. built a temple which he dedicated to the god Osiris; it was a solid and handsome edifice, as the ruins of it testify, and it is not easy to understand why so little of it has remained to us. The walls were ornamented with reliefs illustrating events in the Kheta war, and in one of its corridors was a King List (now in the British Museum), which was evidently a copy of that set up by his father in his temple.

At Thebes he began his building works in the early years of his long reign and, as far as can be seen, they were continued almost to the end of it. He completed the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak and added to it fifty-four columns; his grandfather Rameses I. set up one of the pillars, and his father Seti I. seventy-nine. He built a pylon leading to it, and inscribed upon it a list of the cities and countries which he had conquered. He enclosed a great portion of the temple of Ámen with a wall, and at the east end of the temple he erected a small temple and built a colonnade. He usurped the obelisk which

Thothmes I. had set up in front of the pylon which he had built, and it is more than probable that Rameses usurped some of the large statues on which his name appears. He added reliefs illustrating and texts re-



Obelisk and Pylon of Rameses II. at Luxor.

From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

cording his conquests upon many of the walls of the temple-buildings, and among the latter is a copy of his treaty with the Kheta. The presence of this text upon

the walls of the great sanctuary of Åmen which had been built by the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty with the tribute that they forced the Kheta and other Asiatic nations to pay is significant of the decline of the power of Egypt in the reign of Rameses II. To the temple of Åmen-ḥetep III., which this king left unfinished at his death, Rameses II. added largely. He built the large front court with a colonnade, and a court with porticoes, and a huge pylon, before which he placed six colossal statues of himself, two seated and four standing, and he set up two huge red granite obelisks inscribed with his names and titles. One of these obelisks is in the Place de la Concorde in Paris, and the other remains *in situ*; each obelisk is about 80 feet high and is said to weigh about 250 tons.

Rameses II. completed the funeral temple which his father had begun to build at Ḳûrna, and he did some repairs to the temple of Ḥātshepset in Dêr al-Baḥarî; it would seem that he also carried on works at other temples on the western banks of the Nile. The greatest of all the buildings of Rameses in Western Thebes was the Ramesseum, which was dedicated to Åmen-Rā; it is probably the building to which Diodorus refers (Bk. i. 4) under the name of "Tomb of Osymandyas";[1] Strabo called it the "Memnonium." On the first pylon Rameses II. caused

[1] This name is said to represent the first part of the prenomen of Rameses II., Usr-Maāt-Rā, ⊙ 𓇋𓏏𓎛.

scenes in the Kheta war to be sculptured, and in front of the second pylon he set up a colossal statue of himself which is probably the largest statue known in Egypt; it was 60 feet in height, and cannot have weighed less than 885 tons. Of the statue Diodorus says, "The place is not only commendable for its "greatness, but admirable for its cut and workman-

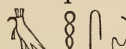
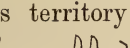
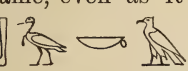


Façade of the Ramesseum.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

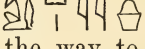
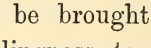
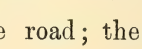
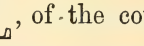
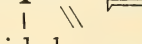
"ship, and the excellency of the stone. In so great "a work there is not to be discerned the least flaw, "or any other blemish. Upon it there is this "inscription:—I am Osymandyas, king of kings; "if any would know how great I am, and where I "lie, let him excel me in any of my works." The

existence of an inscription on the statue with this meaning, is, of course, wholly imaginary. At El-kâb Rameses built a temple in honour of the gods Thoth, Horus, and Nekhebet, and remains of works carried out by him are found at Gebel Silsila, Kom Ombo, and at various places in and about Aswân and on the Island of Elephantine. The temples at Bêt al-Wallî and Abû Simbel have been already referred to, and of the works which he carried out in Nubia may be specially mentioned :—1. The rock temple at Gerf Husên dedicated to Ptaḥ, Hathor, Anuqet, and other gods; 2. the temple at Wâdî Sebu'â, part of which is hewn out of the rock, with its rows of sphinxes and its statues of the king; 3. the temple at Dêrr, which is hewn out of the rock.

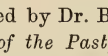
To carry on all these works must have entailed great expenditure of labour and money, and it is not easy to see whence the latter was obtained. Tribute from the kings of Palestine and Syria had ceased to flow into Egypt, and the products of the Sûdân could hardly supply all the needs of Rameses II. One great source of revenue were the famous gold mines which were situated in the Wâdî 'Ulâḳi, and which had been worked during the reign of Seti I.; there are no records to show that these mines were worked by the Egyptians at an earlier period, but it is most probable that they were, and we know that the supply of gold which could be obtained from them was sufficiently large to make them worth working in Roman and even

in Arab times. The portion of the Wâdî 'Ulâḳi worked by Seti I. was near the modern village of Ḳubbân, which marks the site of the Roman fortress called Contra Pselchis,[1] and is nearly opposite to the modern Dakkeh, and it was approached from the Nile at Kubbân. Near this place was found a large and important stele which is dated in the third year of the reign of Rameses II., and which throws considerable light on the working of the gold mines at that time, and describes how the difficulties which were experienced through want of water were overcome. After the first few lines which record the king's names and titles, and state that he is the conqueror of Kesh and of the land of the Negroes, , and that his territory extends to the south as far as Kari, , Rameses is made to say that gold appears in the mountains at the mere mention of his name, even as it does at the name of Horus of Baka,  (i.e., the modern Ḳubbân). We are then told that on a certain day Rameses II. sat in council with his nobles discussing the affairs of the gold-producing land, when reports were laid before him stating that the mines could not be worked because there was no water to be had on the road, and that both man and beast therefore died of thirst on the road to

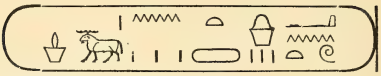
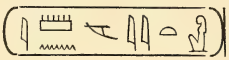
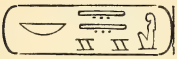
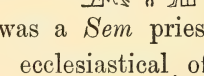
[1] This name is the equivalent of the Egyptian  *P-Serket*, "the city of the scorpion."

and from the mines. All agreed that there was much gold in the country of Åkaita, , but as there was no water on the way to it, except such as fell from the skies in rain, no more gold was forthcoming. The king then ordered that the overseers of the mines should be brought into his presence, and expressed his willingness to carry out their recommendations. When they had come in and praised his beautiful face, he described to them the configuration of the country, , and inquired of them as to the possibility of boring a well, , on the road; the overseers approved the suggestion joyfully, and praised the king for his wisdom and sense. They referred to the time when he was the deputy ruler, , of the country, and spoke of the great buildings which he had erected when he was the governor,  *Re-ḥeri*, of the whole land, a position which he seems to have occupied for ten years. Then the governor of Nubia declared that there had never been any water in the country, and that when Seti I. worked the mines he dug a well 120 cubits in depth, , at a certain place on the road to it, but no water appeared; finally he advised the king to speak to his father, the Nile-god Ḥāpi,

on the subject, for he was sure that he would send water into the waste and desert country if Rameses only asked him to do so. Rameses, however, determined to dig a well there, and despatched a royal scribe with workmen to carry out the royal commands; the borers set to work with a will, and at a depth of twelve cubits they found water, which welled up in such quantities that people were able to sail about on it in boats, like the inhabitants of the marshes in the Delta.[1] Equally useful to the country were the works which Rameses II. undertook in connexion with the canal which led from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and which he intended to lengthen until it reached the Red Sea. Some part of it seems to have existed in the time of Seti I., but neither he nor his son finished it; Rameses only seems to have widened or deepened it. Nekau, a king of XXVIth Dynasty, carried the work a step further, and the canal was finally taken to the Red Sea in the reign of Darius.

Rameses married his two sisters, Nefert-àri-meri-Maāt and Ást-nefert, , by whom he had several children, both sons and daughters, and he married at least three of his own daughters, namely,

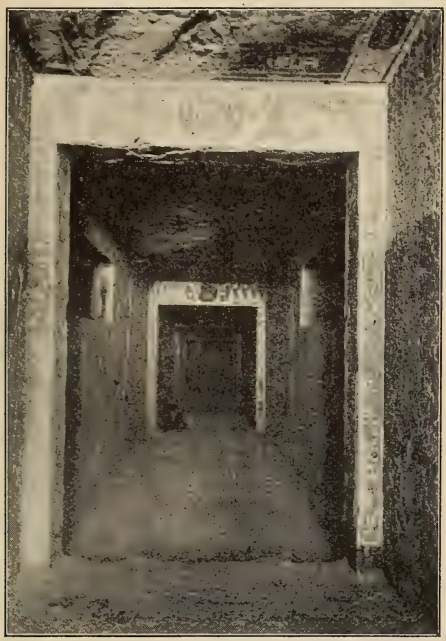
[1] The text was first translated by Dr. Birch in *Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.*, 1852; and see *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 75 ff.; the Egyptian text will be found in Prisse, *Monuments*, pl. 21. The stele itself is in the possession of the Comte St. Ferriol, and is preserved in his mansion at Uriage in France.

Banta-Āntu, , and Àmen-merit, , and Nebt-taui, . Besides these wives he had a large number of concubines, both foreign and native, by whom he became the father of, literally, scores of children; several lists of his children were made, e.g., at Abydos, Thebes, Wâdî Sebu'â, and Abû Simbel, but as far as can be seen none of them was intended to be complete, and they contained the names of selections only of his sons and daughters! The longest list is at Wâdî Sebu'â, where we find the names of one hundred and eleven sons and about fifty-one daughters.[1] Of his sons who are well known from their frequent mention in the texts may be noticed Àmen-ḥer-khepesh-f, Rā-messu, Pa-Rā-ḥer-unami-f, Àmen-ḥer-unami-f, Àmen-Meri, and Seti. His son Khā-em-Uast, , the son of the queen Àst-Nefert, was a *Sem* priest of Ptaḥ, and he held several high ecclesiastical offices, and was the true founder of the Serapeum; he was a man of great learning, and was held in high repute as a magician, as we may see from the famous Romance of Setna.[2] He appears to have conducted the government of the

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 179.

[2] It was first translated by Brugsch in *Rev. Archéologique*. sér. ii. tom. xvi. p. 161 ff.

country for about twenty-five years before his death, which took place in the 55th year of the reign of Rameses II., and he was succeeded in this duty by his brother Mer-en-Ptaḥ-ḥetep-ḥer-Maāt, who is thirteenth

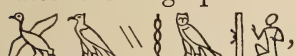


Entrance to the Tomb of Rameses II.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

in the list of the sons of Rameses II.; he had performed the duties of viceroy for about twelve years when his father died, in the 67th year of his reign, aged about one hundred years.

Rameses II. built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and we may assume that he was laid to rest therein with all due pomp and ceremony, and that the funeral furniture was of a character which befitted the rank of the man for whom it had been made. The tomb became the prey of a gang of professional tomb robbers towards the close of the XXth Dynasty, and probably everything that could be carried was stolen. In the time of the Ptolemies it was possible to visit the lower chambers, but it would seem that not many centuries later the whole of the corridors and chambers became filled with sand. Champollion and Rosellini forced their way into parts of the tomb, and in spite of the heat and want of air succeeded in obtaining some information as to its size, ornamentation, etc. Lepsius cleared out the sand sufficiently to enable him to make a useful plan of the corridors and chambers, but he found that the wall-decorations had been almost entirely destroyed by the mud and gravel which had flowed down the steep corridors into the sarcophagus chamber. It seems astonishing that none of the great architects and master builders who were in the employ of Rameses II. warned him of what, from the nature of its situation, must happen to his tomb when rain fell.

The mummy of Rameses II. was found at Dêr al-Baḥarî in a wooden coffin, in which it seems to have been placed under the XXth Dynasty, for the decorations of the coffin, and the style of the writing found upon it, indicate that

as the period to which it belongs. The original coffin was either broken or had fallen to pieces, and the high priest of Åmen, Ḥer-Ḥeru, , had a new one made for the mummy; in the troubled times of the XXth Dynasty the priests of Åmen took Rameses II. out of his tomb, and carried him to the tomb of Seti I. for safety, and subsequently he was again removed to the tomb of queen Ån-Ḥāpu, which was situated in that part of the Bibân al-Mulûk where Åmen-ḥetep III. had built his tomb. Nearly a century later the high-priest of Åmen, called Pai-netchem, , provided the mummy with new bandages.

The mummy of Rameses II. was unrolled by M. Maspero on June 1, 1886,[1] and when the swathing and coverings had been removed the mummified body was found to be about 5 ft. 6 in. in length. The head is small in comparison to the rest of the body, and is rather long; the hair, which was white at the time of death, has been stained a light yellow colour by the medicaments employed in the process of mummification. The forehead is low and narrow, the eyebrows are well arched, and the hair on them is white and bushy, the eyes are small, and lie close to the nose, the nose is long and thin, and somewhat hooked, the temples are hollow, and the cheekbones prominent; the ears are round, and have

[1] See *Les Momies*, p. 560 ff.

slits in them in which earrings must have hung before they were stolen by the tomb robbers, the jaws are firm and strong, the chin is prominent, the mouth is large, the lips are thick, and the teeth, though somewhat soft, are white, and were apparently well cared for. When Rameses died his bones were weak and fragile, and his muscles had become atrophied through senile decay. M. Maspero thinks[1] that at the time of death he must have been almost one hundred years old, and he describes the impression which he received, concerning the character of the king after he had unrolled his mummy, in these words:—"En résumé, le "masque de la momie donne très suffisamment l'idée "de ce qu'était le masque du roi vivant; une expres- "sion peu intelligente, peutêtre légèrement bestiale, "mais de la fierté, de l'obstination, et un air de majesté "souveraine qui perce encore sous l'appareil grotesque "de l'embaumement." This summary agrees very well with the character of Rameses II. which we can deduce from his inscriptions and monuments. In his youth he was brave and active, and proved himself to be a capable though hard ruler; in his old age he devoted himself to a life of comparative inactivity, and indulged in the pleasures of his palace and the society of the *ḥarîmât*, meanwhile retaining the nominal sovereignty of the whole country. He was vain and boastful, as his inscriptions show, and he allowed his court scribes to write concerning his life that which he must have

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 563.

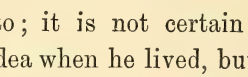
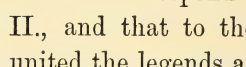
known to be untrue, or perhaps Egyptologists have misunderstood their statements, because the facts are often buried under heaps of high-sounding words. And finally he was not justified in claiming the sovereignty



Head from a statue of Rameses II., King of Egypt, B.C. 1330.
British Museum, No. 30,448.

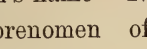
of Palestine and Western Asia, or of Nubia as far as Kari, for nothing can disguise the fact that under Rameses II. the decline of the power of Egypt set in, that she did not regain any of her old possessions, and

that her dominions had shrunk to the size which they were before the conquests of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

In the histories of Herodotus and Diodorus, and in the works of several other classical writers the mighty deeds and exploits of a hero called Sesostris are described or alluded to; it is not certain that these writers had any clear idea when he lived, but it is quite certain that many of his works correspond with those performed by Rameses II., and that to the history of Rameses II. the Greeks united the legends and romance of Sesostris. The name Sesostris is certainly not a form of that of Rameses, and Prof. Sethe[1] is undoubtedly correct in saying that it is derived from the old Egyptian name Senusert, i.e., Usertsen, , and that the original hero of the Sesostris legend was a king of this dynasty who bore this name. But a by-name of Rameses II., "Sesetsu," , may very well have contributed to the formation of the legendary name Sesostris, and why any one of the kings who bore the name Usertsen, or Senusert, should be chosen as the popular hero of historic romances cannot be said. The Sesoses of Pliny,[2] who made the "third obelisk at Rome," appears, as

[1] See *Sesostris*, von K. Sethe, Leipzig, 1900.

[2] Lib. xxxvi. 15. Sesoses appears to be derived from the form Ses, .

Prof. Sethe has said, to be Usertsen I., especially as his son's name "Nuncoreus" may very well represent the prenomen of Åmen-em-ḥāt II., Nub-kau-Rā, , but history does not record that he waged war like Rameses II., or built great temples, or that he did the things which Rameses II. is known to have done. On the other hand, many exploits are attributed to Sesostris of which no parallels can be found in the history of Rameses II., and we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the Sesostris of Greek legend is a hero round whose name the legends and traditions of many great kings and warriors have gathered, and he must be put in the category of such popular characters as Gilgamesh, the narrative of whose exploits delighted the Sumerians and Babylonians for thousands of years, and Nimrod, and Alexander the Great, to whom tradition has ascribed the wisdom and power and conquests of dozens of historical heroes, and whose history, having been translated into many languages, has charmed men of every nationality from Malayia in the East to England in the West.

The fullest account of the hero Sesostris is given by Diodorus Siculus, who not only repeats some of the matters which are related by Herodotus concerning him, but, what is far more interesting, adds a number of others which well illustrate the growth of the legends concerning his life and exploits after the death of Herodotus. The expedition of Rameses II. down the

Red Sea was, of course, nothing but an expedition to the country of Punt, and though it may have been larger than usual, it must not be regarded as a great expedition of conquest. There is no record of conquests of Rameses II. in Bactria and other remote Asiatic countries, but yet it seems that his name must have penetrated as far as those distant lands, for the prince of Bekhten sent to ask him first to send a physician, and the next time to send a god to heal his daughter; and as we are told that Bekhten was seventeen months' journey from Egypt it must have been far away. The facts of the reign of Rameses II. have been given above, but in order that the reader may be enabled easily to compare legend with fact extracts concerning Sesostris from the works of Herodotus and Diodorus are here appended. Herodotus says:—

". . . . the[1] worthy Prynce Sesostris. Him the "pryestes recounte firste of all the kings of Aegypt to "have passed the narrow Seas of Arabia in longe Ships "or Gallyes, and brought in subiection to the Crowne "all those People that marche a longe the redde Sea. "From whence retyringe backe againe the same way, "hee came and gathered a greate power of men, and "tooke his passage over the waters into the mayne "lande, conquering and subduing all Countreyes "whether so ever hee went. Such as he found "valiaunte and hardye not refusinge to ieoparde their "safety in the defence and maynetenaunce of their

[1] B.R.'s translation, fol. 95*b* f.

"liberty, after the victory obtayned, hee fixed in theyr "countrey certayne pyllers or Crosses of Stone, wherein "were ingrauen the names of the kinge and the "countrey, and how by his owne proper force and "puissaunce he had made them yelde. Contrarywyse, "such as without controuersie gave themselves into his "handes, or with litle stryfe and lesse bloudshed were "brought to relent: with them also, and in their region "he planted Pillers and builte up litle crosses, as "before, wherein were carued and importrayed the "secret partes of women, to signifie to the posterity the "base and effeminate courage of the people there "abyding. In this sorte he trauayled with his army "by and downe the mayne, passing out of Asia into "Europe, where he made conquest of the Scythians "and Thracians, which seemeth to have bene the "farthest poynt of his voyage; for so much as in their "land also his titles and marks are apparantly seene "and not beyonde. Herefro hee began to measure his "steps back agayne incamping his powre at the ryuer "Phasis: where, I am not able to discusse, whether king "Sesostris himselfe planted any parte of his army in that "place ever after to possesse yt countrey: or whether "some of his souldiers wearyed with continuall peregrina- "tion and trauayle, toke up their mansion place and "rested there This[1] noble and victorious "prince Sesostris making his return to Aegypt, came "(by report of ye priests) to a place named Daphnae[2]

[1] B.R.'s translation, fol. 96*b*. [2] The modern Tell Defenneh.

"pelusiae, with an infinite trayne of forraine-people
"out of al Nations by him subdued; where being
"very curteously met and welcomed by his brother,
"whom in his absence he had left for Viceroy
"and protectour of the countrey, he was also by ye
"same inuited to a princely banquet, himselfe,
"his wife, and his children. The house whereinto
"they were entered, being compassed about with dry
"matter, was suddaynely by the treachery of his brother
"set on fire, which he perceiving toke counsayle with
"his wife then present, how to escape and auoide the
"daunger. The woman either of a readier wit or riper
"cruelty, advised him to cast two of his sixe children
"into the fire, to make way for himselfe and the rest to
"passe: time not suffering him to make any long stay,
"he put his wyues counsayle in speedy practise, and
"made a bridge through the fire of two of his children,
"to preserve the rest aliue. Sesostris in this sorte
"delivered from the cruell treason and malicious devise
"of his brother, first of all tooke reuenge of his
"trecherous villany and diuelish intent: in the next
"place bethinking himselfe in what affayres to bestowe
"the multitude which he had brought with him, whome
"afterwards he diuersely employed: for by these
"captures were certayne huge and monstrous stones
"rolled and drawne to the Temple of Vulcane. Like-
"wise, were many trenches cut out and deriued from
"the riuer into most places of the countrey, whereby
"the land being aforetime passable by cart and horse,

"was thencefoorth bereaved of that commodity: for in
"all the time ensuing, the countrey of Aegypt being
"for the most parte playne and equall, is through the
"creekes and windings of the ditches brought to that
"passe, that neyther horsse nor wayne can have any
"course or passage from one place to another. Howbeit,
"Sesostris inuented this for the greater benefite and
"commodity of the lande, to the ende that such townes
"and cities as were farre remooued from the riuer,
"might not at the fall of the floud be pinched with the
"penury and want of water, which at all times they
"haue deriued and brought to them in trenches. The
"same King made an equall distribution of the whole
"countrey to all his subjects, allotting to euery man
"the lyke portion and quantitie of ground, drawne out
"and limited by a fouresquare fourme. Heereof the
"king himselfe helde yeerely reuenewes, every one
"being rated at a certayne rent and pension, which
"annually he payd to the crowne, and if at the rising
"of the floud it fortuned any man's portion to be
"ouergone by the waters, the king thereof was aduer-
"tised, who forthwyth sent certayne to survey ye
"ground, and to measure ye harmes which the flood
"had done him, and to leavy out the crowne rent
"according to the residue of the land that remayned.
"Heereof sprang the noble science of Geometry, and
"from thence was translated into Greece. For as
"touching the Pole and Gnomon (which is to say) the
"rule, and the twelue partes of the day, the Graecians

"tooke them of the Babylonians. This King Sesostris "held the Empyre alone, leauing in Aethiopia[1] before "the temple of Vulcane[2] certayne monuments to the "posteritie, to wit, certayne images of stone, one for "hymselfe, another for his wife, beeyng eache of them "thirtie cubites: the foure images also of hys foure "sonnes, beeyng each of them twentie cubites apeece. "In processe of time when the image of King Darius "that gouerned Persia should have bene placed before "the picture of Sesostris, the priest of Vulcane which "serued in the temple woulde in no wise permit it to "bee done, denying that Darius had euer achieued the "like exploits that Sesostris had done. Who, besides "the conquering of sundrie other nations (not inferiour "in number to those which had been overcome by "Darius) had also brought in subiection the most "couragious and valiaunt people of Scythia: for "whyche cause, it were agaynst reason to preferre "hymselfe in place before him unto whome he was "inferiour in chiualry, whiche bold aunswere of the "priest, King Darius tooke in good parte and brooked "welynough. Sesostris dying, the seate imperiall came "to his son Pheco."

The history of Sesostris according to Diodorus is as follows:—

"Seven descents after (they say), Sesostris reigned, "who excelled all his ancestors in great and famous

[1] I.e., Nubia.

[2] The rock-hewn temple at Abû Simbel is here referred to.

"actions. But not only the Greek writers differ among "themselves about the king, but likewise the Egyptian "priests and poets relate various and different stories "concerning him. We shall relate such as are most "probable and agreeable to those signs and marks "that are yet remaining in Egypt to confirm them. "After his birth his father performed a noble act, and "becoming a king, he caused all throughout Egypt, "that were born the same day with his son, to be "brought together; and together with his son to be "bred up with the same education, and instructed in "the same discipline and exercises, conceiving that, "by being thus familiarly brought up together, and "conversing with one another, they would be always "loving and most faithful friends, and the best fellow-"soldiers in all the wars. Providing, therefore, every-"thing for the purpose, he caused the boys to be "exercised daily in the schools with hard and difficult "labours; as that none should eat until he had run "a hundred and four-score furlongs; and by this "means, when they came to be at men's estate, they "were fit either to be commanders, or to undertake "any brave or noble action, both in respect of the "vigour and strength of their bodies, and the excellent "endowments of their minds. Sesostris in the first "place being sent with an army into Arabia, by his "father (with whom went his companions that were "bred up with him), toiled and troubled himself with "the hunting and killing of wild beasts; and then

"having at last overmastered all his fatigues and "wants of water and provision, he conquered all that "barbarous nation, which was never before that time "subdued. Afterwards, being sent into the western "parts, he conquered the greatest part of Libya, being "as yet but a youth. Coming to the crown after "the death of his father, encouraged by his former "successes, he designed to subdue and conquer the "whole world. Some report that he was stirred up "by his daughter Athyrte to undertake the gaining "of the empire of the world; for being a woman of "an extraordinary understanding, she made it out to "her father, that the conquest was easy; others en- "couraged him by their divinations, foretelling his "successes by the entrails of the sacrifices, by their "dreams in the temples, and prodigies seen in the "air. There are some also that write, that when "Sesostris was born, Vulcan appeared to his father "in his sleep, and told him that the child then born "should be conqueror of the universe; and that that "was the reason why his father assembled all of the "like age, and bred them up together with his son, "to make way for him with more ease to rise to that "height of imperial dignity; and that when he was "grown to man's estate, fully believing what the god "had foretold, he undertook at length this expedition. "To this purpose he first made it his chief concern "to gain the love and goodwill of all the Egyptians, "judging it necessary in order to effect what he

"designed, so far to engage his soldiers, as they should "willingly and readily venture, nay, lose their lives for "their generals, and that those whom he should leave "behind him, should not contrive any rebellion in his "absence; to this end, therefore, he obliged everyone, "to the utmost of his power, working upon some by "money, others, by giving them lands, and many by "free pardons, and upon all by fair words, and affable "and courteous behaviour. He pardoned those that "were condemned for high treason, and freed all that "were in prison for debt, by paying what they owed, "of whom there was a vast multitude in the gaols. He "divided the whole country into thirty-six parts, which "the Egyptians call Nomi, over every one of which he "appointed a governor, who should take care of the "king's revenue, and manage all other affairs relating "to their several and respective provinces. Out of "these he chose the strongest and ablest men, and "raised an army answerable to the greatness of his "design, to the number of six hundred thousand foot, "and twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven "thousand chariots of war; and over all the several "regiments and battalions, he made those who had been "brought up with him commanders, being such as had "been used to martial exercises, and from their child-"hood hot and zealous after that which was brave and "virtuous, and who were knit together as brothers in "love and affection, both to the king, and one to "another, the number of whom were about seventeen

"hundred. Upon these companions of his he bestowed "large estates in lands, in the richest parts of Egypt, "that they might not be in the least want of anything, "reserving only their attendance upon him in the war. "Having therefore rendezvoused his army, he marched "first against the Ethiopians inhabiting the south, and "having conquered them, forced them to pay him "tribute of ebony, gold, and elephants' teeth. Then he "sent forth a navy of four hundred sail into the Red "Sea, and was the first Egyptian that built long ships. "By the help of this fleet, he gained all the islands of "this Sea, and subdued the bordering nations as far "as to India. But he himself marching forward with "his land army, conquered all Asia, for he not only "invaded those nations which Alexander the Mace- "donian afterwards subdued, but likewise those which "he never set foot upon. For he both passed over the "river Ganges, and likewise passed through all India "to the main ocean. Then he subdued the Scythians "as far as to the Tanais, which divides Europe "from Asia; where they say he left some of his "Egyptians at the lake Moeotis, and gave origin "to the nations of Colchis; and, to prove that they "were originally Egyptians, they bring this argument, "that they are circumcised after the manner of the "Egyptians, which custom continued in this colony "as it did amongst the Jews. In the same manner "he brought into his subjection all the rest of "Asia, and most of the islands of Cyclades. Thence

"passing over into Europe he was in danger of "losing his whole army, through the difficulty of the "passages, and want of provisions. And, therefore, "putting a stop to his expedition in Thrace, up and "down in all his conquests, he erected pillars, whereon "were inscribed, in Egyptian letters, called hiero-"glyphics, these words:—'Sesostris, king of kings, "and lord of lords, subdued this country by his arms.' "Among those nations that were stout and warlike, "he carved upon those pillars the privy members of "a man: amongst them that were cowardly and faint-"hearted the secret parts of a woman; conceiving that "the chief and principal member of a man would "be a clear evidence to posterity of the courage of "every one of them. In some places he set up his "own statue, carved in stone, (armed with a bow and "a lance), above four cubits and four hands in height, "of which stature he himself was. Having now "spent nine years in this expedition, (carrying himself "courteously and familiarly towards all his subjects "in the meantime), he ordered the nations he had "conquered, to bring their presents and tributes every "year into Egypt, every one proportionable to their "several abilities and he himself, with the captives "and the rest of the spoils, (of which there were a "vast quantity), returned into Egypt, far surpassing "all the kings before him in the greatness of his actions "and achievements. He adorned all the temples of "Egypt with rich presents, and the spoils of his

"enemies. Then he rewarded his soldiers that had "served him in the war, everyone according to their "desert. It is most certain that the army not only "returned loaded with riches, and received the glory "and honour of their approved valour, but the whole "country of Egypt reaped many advantages by this "expedition. Sesostris having now disbanded his "army, gave leave to his companions in arms, and "fellow victors to take their ease, and enjoy the fruits "of their conquest. But he himself, fired with an "earnest desire of glory, and ambitious to leave behind "him eternal monuments of his memory, made many "fair and stately works, admirable both for their cost "and contrivance, by which he both advanced his "own immortal praise, and procured unspeakable ad-"vantages to the Egyptians, with perfect peace and "security for the time to come. For, beginning first "with what concerned the gods, he built a temple in "all the cities of Egypt, to that god whom every "particular place most adored; and he employed none "of the Egyptians in his works, but finished all by "the labours of the captives; and therefore he caused "an inscription to be made upon all the temples "thus:—'None of the natives were put to labour "here.' It is reported that some of the Babylonian "captives, because they were not able to bear the "fatigue of the work, rebelled against the king; and "having possessed themselves of a fort near the river, "they took up arms against the Egyptians, and wasted

"the country thereabouts: but at length having got "a pardon, they chose a place for their habitation, "and called it after the name of that in their own "country, Babylon. Upon the like occasion, they "say, that Troy, situated near the river Nile was so "called; for Menelaus, when he returned from Ilium "with many prisoners, arrived in Egypt, where the "Trojans deserting the king, seized upon a certain "strong place, and took up arms against the Greeks, "till they had gained their liberty, and then built a "famous city after the name of their own. But I am "not ignorant how Ctesias the Cretan gives a far "different account of these cities, when he says, that "some of those that came with Semiramis into Egypt, "called the cities which they built after the names "of those in their own country. But it is no easy "matter to know the certain truth of these things: "yet it is necessary to observe the different opinions "concerning them, that the judicious reader may have "an occasion to inquire, in order to pick out the real "truth. Sesostris moreover raised many mounds and "banks of earth, to which he removed all the cities "that lay low in the plain, that both man and beast "might be safe and secure at the time of the "inundation of the river. He cut likewise many "deep dykes from the river, all along as far as "from Memphis to the sea, for the ready and quick "conveying of corn and other provisions and merchan-"dize, by short cuts thither, both for the support of

"trade and commerce, and maintenance of peace and "plenty all over the country; and that which was of "greatest moment and concern of all, was, that he "fortified all parts of the country against incursions of "enemies, and made it difficult of access; whereas, "before, the greatest part of Egypt lay open and "exposed either for chariots or horsemen to enter. "But now, by reason of the multitude of canals drawn "all along from the river the entrance was very "difficult, and the country not so easily to be invaded. "He defended, likewise, the east side of Egypt against "the irruptions of the Syrians and Arabians, with a wall "drawn from Pelusium through the deserts, as far as to "Heliopolis, for the space of a thousand and five hundred "furlongs. He caused likewise a ship to be made of "cedar two hundred and fourscore cubits in length, "gilded over with gold on the outside, and with silver "within; and this he dedicated to the god that was "most adored by the Thebans. He erected likewise "two obelisks of polished marble, a hundred and "twenty cubits high, on which were inscribed a "description of the large extent of his empire, the "great value of his revenue, and the number of the "nations by him conquered. He placed likewise at "Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan his and his wife's "statues, each of one entire stone, thirty cubits in "height, and those of his sons, twenty cubits high, on "this occasion. After his return from his great "expedition into Egypt, being at Pelusium, his brother

"at a feast having invited him, together with his wife "and children, plotted against his life; for being all "overcome by wine, and gone to rest, he caused a great "quantity of dry reeds (long before prepared for the "purpose), to be placed round the king's pavilion in "the night, and set them all on fire; upon which the "flame suddenly mounted aloft; and little assistance "the king had either from his servants or lifeguard, "who were all still overloaden with wine; upon which "Sesostris with his hands lift up to heaven, calling "upon the gods for help for his wife and children, "rushed through the flames and escaped; and being "thus unexpectedly preserved, he made oblations as to "other of the gods, (as is beforesaid), so especially to "Vulcan, as he by whose favour he was so remarkably "delivered. Although Sesostris was eminent in many "great and worthy actions, yet the most stately and "magnificent of all, was that relating to the princes in "his progresses. For those kings of the conquered "nations, who, through his favour still held their "kingdoms, and such as had received large principali-"ties of his free gift and donation, came with their "presents and tributes into Egypt, at the times "appointed, whom he received with all the marks of "honour and respect; save that when he went into the "temple or the city, his custom was to cause the "horses to be unharnessed out of his chariot, and in "their room four kings, and other princes to draw it; "hereby thinking to make it evident to all, that there

"was none comparable to him for valour, who had "conquered the most potent and famous princes in the "world. This king seems to have excelled all others, "that ever were eminent for power and greatness, both "as to his warlike achievements, the number of his "gifts and oblations, and his wonderful works in "Egypt. After he had reigned three-and-thirty years, "he fell blind, and wilfully put an end to his own life; "for which he was admired not only by priests, but by "all the rest of the Egyptians; for that as he had "before manifested the greatness of his mind by his "actions, so now his end was agreeable (by a voluntary "death), to the glory of his life."

It is interesting to note that Diodorus does not seem to have realized that the tomb of Osymandyas was the funeral temple of Rameses II., many of whose wars and exploits he attributed to Sesostris in accordance with the form of the legend of Sesostris, which was current in his time.

Of the tomb of Osymandyas, i.e., User-Maāt-Rā, or Rameses II., Diodorus says:—

"There [i.e., Thebes], they say, are the wonderful "sepulchres of the ancient kings, which for state and "grandeur, far exceed all that posterity can attain unto "at this day. The Egyptian priests say that, in their "sacred registers, there are entered seven and forty of "these sepulchres; but in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, "there remained only seventeen, many of which were "ruined and destroyed when I myself came into these

"parts, which was in the 108th Olympiad. And these "things are not only reported by the Egyptian priests, "out of their sacred records, but many of the Grecians "who travelled to Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, "and wrote histories of Egypt, (among whom was "Hecateus), agree with what we have related. Of the "first sepulchres, (wherein they say the women of "Jupiter were buried), that of king Osymandyas was "ten furlongs in circuit; at the entrance of which they "say, was a portico of various-coloured marble, in "length 200 feet; and in height five and forty cubits; "thence going forward, you come into a four-square "stone gallery, every square being 400 feet, supported, "instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire "stone, 16 cubits high, carved after the antique "manner. The roof was entirely of stone; each stone "eight cubits broad, with an azure sky, bespangled "with stars. Passing out of this peristylion, you enter "into another portico, much like the former, but more "curiously carved, and with more variety. At the "entrance stand three statues, each of one entire stone, "the workmanship of Memnon of Sienitas. One of "these, made in a sitting posture, is the greatest in all "Egypt, the measure of his foot exceeding seven cubits; "the other two, much less than the former, reaching "but to his knees; the one standing on the right, and "the other on the left, being his daughter and mother. "This piece is not only commendable for its greatness, "but admirable for its cut and workmanship, and

"excellency of the stone. In so great a work there is "not to be discerned the least flaw, or any other blemish. "Upon it there is this inscription :—'I am Osymandyas, "king of kings; if any would would know how great I "am, and where I lie, let him excel me in any of my "works.' There was likewise at this second gate, "another statue of his mother, by herself, of one "stone, twenty cubits in height; upon her head were "placed three crowns, to denote she was both the "daughter, wife, and mother of a king. Near to this "portico, they say there was another gallery or Piazzo, "more remarkable than the former, in which were "various sculptures, representing his wars with the "Bactrians, who had revolted from him, against whom "(it is said) he marched with 400,000 foot, and 20,000 "horse; which army he divided into four bodies,[1] "and appointed his sons generals of the whole. In "the first wall might be seen the king assaulting a "bulwark, environed with the river,[2] and fighting at "the head of his men against some that make up "against him, assisted by a lion, in a terrible manner; "which some affirm, is to be taken for a true and real "lion,[3] which the king bred up tame, which went along "with him in all his wars, and by his great strength "ever put the enemy to flight. Others make this

[1] See above, p. 38.

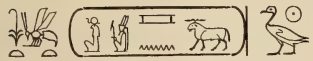
[2] The city of Kadesh is here referred to.

[3] He was a real lion, and his name was "Smam-khefti-f," i.e., "Slayer of his foes"; a picture of him is given on page 27.

"construction of it, that the king being a man of "extraordinary courage and strength, he was willing to "trumpet forth his own praises, setting forth the "bravery of his own spirit, by the representation of a "lion. In the second wall, was carved the captives "dragged after the king, represented without hands "and privy members; which was to signify, that they "were of effeminate spirits, and had no hands when "they came to fight. The third wall represented all "sorts of sculptures, and curious images, in which were "set forth the king's sacrificing of oxen, and his "triumphs in that war. In the middle of the peristy- "lion, open to the air at the top, was reared an altar of "shining marble, of excellent workmanship, and for "largeness to be admired. In the last wall were two "statues, each of one entire stone, 27 cubits high; "near to which three passages opened out at the "peristylion, into a stately room supported with pillars "like to a theatre for music; every side of the theatre "was 200 feet square. In this, there were many "statues of wood, representing the pleaders and spec- "tators, looking upon the judges that gave judgment. "Of these, there were thirty carved upon one of the "walls. In the middle sat the chief justice, with the "image of truth hanging about his neck, with his eyes "closed, having many books lying before him. This "signified that a judge ought not to take any bribes, "but ought only to regard the truth and merits of the "cause. Next adjoining, was a gallery full of divers

"apartments, in which were all sorts of delicate meats,
"ready dressed up. Near hereunto, is represented the
"king himself, curiously carved, and painted in glorious
"colours, offering gold and silver to the gods; as much
"as he yearly received out of the gold and silver mines.
"The sum was there inscribed (according to the rate of
"silver) to amount unto 32,000,000 of minas. Next
"hereunto was the sacred library, whereon was inscribed
"these words, viz.: 'The cure of the mind.' Adjoining
"to this, were the images of all the gods of Egypt, to
"every one of whom the king was making offerings,
"peculiarly belonging to each of them, that Osiris, and
"all his associates, who were placed at his feet, might
"understand his piety towards the gods, and his
"righteousness towards men. Next to the library,
"was a stately room, wherein were twenty beds to eat
"upon, richly adorned; in this house were the images
"of Jupiter and Juno, together with the kings; and
"here it is supposed, the king's body lies interred.
"Round the room are many apartments, wherein are to
"be seen in curious painting, all the beasts that are
"accounted sacred in Egypt. Thence are the ascents
"to the top of the whole monument of the sepulchre,
"which being mounted, appears a border of gold round
"the tomb, 365 cubits in compass, and a cubit thick;
"within the division of every cubit, were the several
"days of the year engraven, with the natural rising
"and setting of the stars, and their significations,
"according to the observations of the Egyptian astro-

"logers. This border, they say, was carried away by "Cambyses and the Persians, when he conquered "Egypt. In this manner they describe the sepulchre "of king Osymandyas, which seems far to exceed all "others, both for magnificence and curiosity of work-"manship." (Booth's Translation, p. 52 ff.)

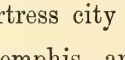
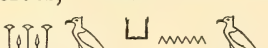
4.  Ba-Rā-mer-en-Ámen, son of the Sun, Mer-en-Ptaḥ ḥetep-ḥer-Maāt.



Ka-nekht-ḥāi-em-Maāt, the Horus name of Mer-en-Ptaḥ.

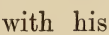
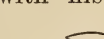
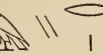
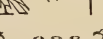
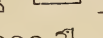
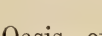
Mer-en-Ptaḥ or Menephthah, *'Αμενεφθίς*, was the thirteenth son of Rameses II., and his mother was Queen Ást-nefert; he had been associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom for several years before he became the sole king of Egypt, and it is clear that he was a man well past middle age when he ascended the throne. Besides the Horus name, "Mighty Bull, rejoicing in Maāt," he styled himself the "Soul of Rā, beloved of Ámen, he who resteth on Maāt, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, the Horus of gold, the lord of risings," and he adopted titles which refer to his adoration of the Sun-god Rā, and to his stablishing of good laws throughout the world, . The prin-

cipal event in the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ, or Menephthah, was the Libyan war, concerning which a considerable amount of information is furnished by a long inscription at Karnak.[1]

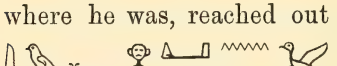
In the fifth year of his reign, as we learn from two inscriptions published by Maspero,[2] Menephthah heard that a revolt had broken out among the Libyans, who had gathered together a large number of allies from among the Mediterranean peoples, and that their king intended to invade Egypt. He was in Memphis at the time, and soon after the report of the revolt had reached him he heard that the Libyan king had attacked all the outlying Egyptian and other cities to the east of the Delta and conquered them, and that he had crossed the frontier and was actually in Egypt and was master of all the territory through which he had passed. Menephthah at once began to fortify "Ánnu, the town of Tem," , i.e., Heliopolis, and the "fortress city of the god Tanen," , i.e., Memphis, and the city of Per-Baire-Ást, , probably the modern Belbês, which was situated on the canal Shakana, . In due

[1] See Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 52-55; Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. i. pll. 1–6.

[2] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xix., 1881, p. 118; vol. xxi., 1883, p. 65 ff.

course the "wretched king of Libya," , called Mâreiui, , the son of Ṭiṭ, , invaded the country of the Theḥennu, , with his bowmen and his allies the Shaireṭen, , and the Shakelesha, , and the Qauasha, , and the Reku, , and the Turisha, , and then made his way with his wife and children across the western frontier into the fields of the city of Pa-àrt, or Per-àrt, , which must not, according to Brugsch, be identified with Prosopis, but with some place to the east of the Delta. When Menephthah saw his foe "he roared like a lion," and made a long speech to his generals and officers, in which he reminded them that he was their king, and would be responsible for their safety, and then went on to upbraid them for being as timid as birds, and for their inactivity and helplessness. He pointed out that their lands were being laid waste, that those who chose passed over the frontier whensoever they pleased, that the invaders robbed the people and seized their lands, that the Oasis of Ta-àḥet,  (i.e.,

Farâfra), had been occupied, that the enemy were swarming into Egypt like worms, and their sole aim in life, he declared, was to fight and to plunder, and that once in Egypt, to which they had come for food to eat, they would settle down and dwell there. As for their king he was like a dog, and was a cringing, fawning, senseless being,[1] and he should never more sit upon his throne. Then the king ordered his army to make ready to attack the enemy, telling them that Åmen would be to them a shield, and he promised to lead them in person to battle on the 14th day of the month.

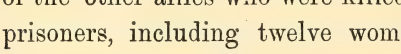
Before the fateful day, however, the king dreamed a dream, and in it a colossal figure of the god Ptaḥ appeared to him and, bidding him to stay where he was, reached out to him a divine scimitar, , and ordered him to lay aside all faint-heartedness and to be strong, and to send forward large numbers of soldiers and chariots to the city of Pa-åŕt. Mâreïui, the king of Libya, had arranged to fight the battle on the first day of the month Epiphi at daybreak, but he was not able to do so until two days later, when the Egyptian troops



Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 53, l. 23.

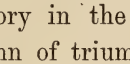
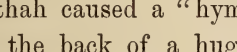
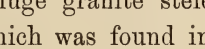
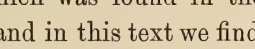
attacked with such vigour that the enemy was driven hither and thither, and by the help of the gods Åmen-Rā and Nubti, , they were overthrown in thousands by the chariot charges of the Egyptians, and the dying and dead lay drenched with their own blood. For six hours the battle raged, and the Egyptians gave no quarter; finally the king of the Libyans, seeing that the field was covered with the corpses of his soldiers, took to flight, and in order to make good his escape, he threw away his bow and quiver, and sandals, and when he found he was being pursued he cast away even his clothes, and succeeded in saving nothing but his skin. His followers were not so fortunate, and hundreds of them were cut down by Pharaoh's horsemen. The wife and children of Māreiui, and his silver, and gold, and vessels of iron, and bows, and even the ornaments and apparel of his wife were captured by Menephthah, as well as large numbers of prisoners. The spoil was loaded upon asses, and the king ordered it to be driven to Egypt, together with the hands and other portions of the dead Libyans which they had cut off.[1] Among the

[1] . The meaning of *aqarenathâ* is discussed by Müller, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. x. p. 147 ff.

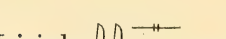
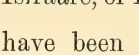
slain were six of the brothers and children of the Libyan king and 6359 officers and soldiers; all these were mutilated in the manner in which the Egyptians treated their uncircumcised foes. Of the Shakaresha 250 were killed, of the Turisha 790, but the numbers of the other allies who were killed are unknown; 9376 prisoners, including twelve women, were taken, and the loot consisted of 9111 swords of the Māsha tribe, , 120,314 weapons of various kinds which had been found with the Libyans, 126 horses, etc. Thus, fortunately for Egypt, ended the Libyan war, and Menephthah was, no doubt, very thankful that he was the victor, for Egypt was never so nearly being conquered from one end to the other as she was at this time.

When we consider that two generations of Egyptians had never seen or heard of war in their own time, it is little short of marvellous that this mighty confederation of Libyans and their allies was vanquished by Menephthah's army; his soldiers fought well because they realized that they were fighting a battle on the result of which depended their freedom, as the loss of it would entail a life of slavery with peoples whom they held to be abominable and unclean. There is small wonder that the whole land rejoiced madly, or that the Delta was filled with songs of gladness and thankfulness from east to west. Fortunately for Menephthah the Palestinian tribes

were quiet, and from the Kheta he had nought to fear, because during the famine which had broken out in Northern Syria in the early years of his reign he had sent corn to his father's ally, the prince of Kheta. To commemorate his victory in the Libyan war, Menephthah caused a "hymn of triumph" to be inscribed on the back of a huge granite stele of the time of Amen-ḥetep III., which was found in the Ramesseum at Thebes in 1896,[1] and in this text we find the principal events of the war treated in a highly poetical manner. The king of Libya is heartily abused, and the gift of the divine scimitar to Menephthah is mentioned, and after a few remarks on the happy times which have once more returned to Egypt through the victory of the mighty king of Egypt, we find the following passage:—

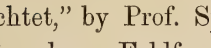
"The princes are cast down upon the ground, and utter
"words of homage, and no one of the people of the Nine
"Bows lifteth up his head. Tehenu, ,
"is laid waste. Kheta hath been pacified, Canaan,
", hath been seized upon by
"calamity of every kind, Ascalon hath been carried
"away, Qatchare,  (Gezer), hath
"been captured, Innuāmam, 
"(Yamnia), hath been reduced to a state of not being, the

[1] See Petrie in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1896. A transcript of the text, with a German translation by Spiegelberg will be found in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv., 1896, p. 1 ff.

"Isiràare, or Isiràale, ,
"have been ravaged and their seed destroyed, Syria,
", hath become the widow of Egypt,
", and all the lands together are at
"peace."

Judging from this passage it would seem that Menephthah had conducted some campaign in Palestine or Southern Syria, and that as a result the whole of the country of Libya had been laid waste, and several districts of Palestine reduced to want and misery, but there is no reference to any such campaign in the inscriptions except this. In the time of Rameses II., the treaty which he made with the king of Kheta allowed him to have full authority over Palestine as far north as the Dog River, and all the land which lay to the south of it was the property of Egypt. Why then boast of having reduced to misery towns like Ascalon, and Gezer, and Yamnia, etc.? M. Naville has discussed the passage in a careful article, and translates the last part of it thus[1]:—"Kanaan est donc "réduit à l'impuissance, parce qu' Askalon et Ghezer se "font la guerre: Iamnia est comme n'existant plus; "Israël est détruit, il n'a plus de postérité, et la Syrie "est comme les veuves d'Égypte." The passage which M. Naville renders, "Israel is destroyed, and hath no posterity," is translated "Israel ist verwüstet und seine

[1] *Recueil*, tom. xx. p. 36.

Saaten vernichtet," by Prof. Spiegelberg,[1] and "Israel ist verwüstet, ohne Feldfrucht," by Prof. Krall.[2] Thus all three scholars agree in rendering the hieroglyphic name  by "Israel," and are certain that in the inscription of Menephthah under consideration the Israel of the Bible is mentioned, but they differ in the meaning which they assign to the word *peru* , which M. Naville translates by "postérité," and Spiegelberg by "Saaten," i.e., "crops," and Krall by "Feldfrucht," or "fruit of the field." Some writers have seen in the Egyptian text a reference to the passage in Exodus i. 16, where we are told that the king of Egypt ordered the Hebrew midwives to destroy the male children of the Hebrews, and to keep alive the female children; but we are also told in the following verse that "the midwives feared God, and did not as the "king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men "children alive." So that if we accept the Bible narrative we must believe that the male children were not destroyed after all, and therefore the passage in the Egyptian text of Menephthah cannot refer to a destruction of the seed of Israel which never took place. There is no doubt that the word *peru*  does sometimes mean "progeny," "offspring," and the

[1] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv., 1896, p. 14.

[2] *Grundriss*, p. 85.

like, but on the other hand the proofs adduced by Prof. Spiegelberg make it tolerably certain that his rendering "Israel hath been ravaged and his crops destroyed" is the correct one.[1] We must now consider the name Isirâare, or Isirâale, which is rendered "Israel." It is clear from the determinatives at the end of the word that we have to deal with the name of a people of foreign race, for the sign  means "alien" or "foreign," and the man  and the woman , and the plural sign  indicate a large number of men and women. The fact that all the other places mentioned with Isirâale have the determinative of foreign country  placed after each of them emphasizes its omission in the case of Isirâare or Isirâale, which has a group of determinatives meaning "foreign people" placed after it only; this may indicate that the Isirâare or Isirâale people had no country, and were nomads, but in that case how did they come to have crops which could be destroyed?

The question of the identification of this people with the children of Israel seems to depend on what view is taken as to the period in which the Exodus happened. If the Exodus took place in the reign of Âmen-ḥetep III., a matter which will be referred to later on, the Children of Israel would by the time Menephthah began to reign have obtained some position among the tribes

[1] This view is also taken by Maspero, who translates the words, "Israîlou est rasé et n'a plus de graine." *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 436.

of Palestine and Canaan, and they may even have acquired land in sufficient quantity to justify the king of Egypt in mentioning their name with the names of countries like Theḥennu, Kheta, etc. But if the Exodus took place in the reign of Menephthah the Isirâare, or Isirâale, cannot be, in the writer's opinion, identified with the children of Israel, because according to the Hebrew tradition as preserved in the Bible the latter wandered about in the desert for forty years, i.e., for a period which was longer than the whole of the reign of Menephthah, and they did not effect a settlement in Palestine until some time later. Moreover, to assign to the fugitives from Egypt a position among the nations which would make them to be worthy of mention side by side with those like the Kheta and the Theḥennu is to give them an importance which they would never possess in the eyes even of the writer of a high-flown composition, such as that which appears on the stele usurped by Menephthah. The composition has no real historical importance, as we may see from the fact that the writer of the text, after declaring that the Libyans were destroyed, goes on to say that the "Kheta have been brought to a state of peace"; the reader of this statement who was ignorant of the true history of the period would imagine that Menephthah had reduced the Kheta, but we know that he did not, and that the peoples of the Kheta country had forced Rameses II. to be at peace with them. Among the last words on the stele we read, "Syria hath become

as the widows of Egypt," by which we should expect the writer to mean us to understand that Syria had been reduced to a state of misery of the most abject character, but when we notice that he is making a pun on the words *Khar*, "Syria," and *khart*, "widows," it is natural to doubt if the words have really that meaning at all. The pun is probably an old one, and dates from the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and the writer was clearly more anxious to use it than to report a mere historical fact. Finally, all that can be said for the identification of the Isiráare, or Isiráale, with the children of Israel is the resemblance between the two names, and if it be accepted we must admit that the Israelites left Egypt *before* the reign of Menephthah, and were settled in Palestine at the time his inscription was written.

The building operations of Menephthah appear to have been considerable, especially in the Delta, where he repaired the old frontier fortresses and built new ones, no doubt with the idea of keeping strict watch upon the various peoples who went in and out from Egypt. He built largely at Tanis, where he usurped a number of XIIth Dynasty statues, and two so-called Hyksos sphinxes, etc., and he carried on repairs at Heliopolis, Memphis, and Abydos, and his name is found upon many buildings on both banks of the Nile at Thebes, where many works were carried out by his commands. He usurped some of the granite sphinxes, an obelisk, etc., which had been set up by Ámen-ḥetep III. and Thothmes III., and as far as can

be made out his own buildings were few and of no great importance. Stelae, in which he is represented adoring the gods, are found at Gebel Silsila, and his name appears at Pselchis in Nubia, and in the old quarry works in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Menephthah built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the kings at Thebes, which is known to-day as "No. 8." It consists of three chambers and three corridors, the walls of which are decorated with extracts from the "Book of Praising Rā" and the "Book of the Underworld," or as Dr. Birch read the title some fifty years ago, "The Book of the Gate," and with scenes in which the deceased is represented in the act of adoring Harmachis and other gods, and that of the passage of the sun through certain hours of the night. The king's sarcophagus stands in the second room from the end of the corridors, but there is no mummy in it. Some years ago it was the fashion to explain the absence of the king's mummy by a reference to the Bible narrative (Exodus, chapters xiv. and xv.), and to assume that Menephthah was drowned, together with his captains, during his pursuit of the children of Israel through the waters of the Red Sea. But the tradition as given in Exodus only tells us, "Moses "stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea "returned to his strength when the morning appeared; "and the Egyptians fled against it; and the Lord "overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. "And the water returned, and covered the chariots,

"and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that "came into the sea after them; there remained not so "much as one of them" (vv. 27, 28). There is nothing in this passage to indicate that Pharaoh was pursuing the Israelites in person, or that he was drowned as a result. When the great haul of Royal mummies was made at Dêr al-Baḥarî in 1881, and the mummy of Menephthah was found not to be among them, the belief that he had been drowned with his six hundred chosen captains of chariots was confirmed in the opinion of many. It will be remembered that early in 1898 M. Loret reported the discovery of the tombs of Åmen-ḥetep II. and Thothmes III. at Thebes, and that in the tomb of the former king a number of royal mummies were found. Later in the year M. Loret read a paper in Cairo at the Institut Égyptien on his discovery, and dealt with the identifications of the mummies which he had found; the mummies were declared by him to be those of Thothmes IV., Åmen-ḥetep III., Seti II., Åmen-ḥetep IV., Sa-Ptaḥ, Rameses IV., Rameses V., and Rameses VI. The discovery was an important one, but it was a remarkable thing to find the mummy of the heretic king Khu-en-Åten carefully stowed away with the mummies of his orthodox father and grandfather and descendants, all of whom worshipped and adored the god Åmen, whom he scoffed at and abominated; in fact it was hardly credible that the priests of Åmen should have taken the pains to save the body of their old enemy from the

wreckers of mummies and the robbers of tombs. Soon after the reading of the paper an examination of the hieratic characters which were supposed to represent the name of Khu-en-Åten was made by Mr. W. Groff, and he became convinced that they had been misread by M. Loret, who, instead of transcribing them by , had transcribed them by . In other words, he had, according to Mr. Groff, read Khu-en-Åten instead of Ba-en-Rā, and had identified as the mummy of Åmen-ḥetep IV., or Khu-en-Åten, the mummy of Menephthah. The views of Mr. Groff provoked discussion, and on February 10, 1900, MM. Maspero, Daressy, and Brugsch Bey specially examined the writing on the wrappings of the mummy with the view of deciding so important a matter; later they were joined by MM. Lieblein, von Bissing, Lange, and others, and these savants came to the conclusion that the mummy was not that of Khu-en-Åten but of Ba-en-Rā, i.e., Menephthah, the son of Rameses II., and brother of the famous magician Khā-em-Uast, in fact, the king of Egypt who has been styled generally the "Pharaoh of the Exodus."[1] Thanks to the courtesy of Brugsch Bey the writer also was allowed in January, 1900, to examine the writing on the wrappings of the mummy, and he has no doubt that Mr. Groff is right and that M. Loret is wrong.

[1] See *Recueil*, tom. xx. p. 224; tom. xxii. p. 136.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT.

In connexion with the reign of Menephthah must be mentioned the great Exodus of Israel from Egypt, because many of the greatest Egyptologists think that this remarkable event in the history of the Hebrews took place at this period. Of the Israelites and their Exodus from Egypt we have, besides the narrative in the Bible, several short accounts by various writers,[1] and a longer, more detailed statement on the subject by Josephus. According to this last writer a king of Egypt called Amenophis was desirous of beholding the gods,[2] as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had seen them. And he communicated his desire to a priest of the same name as himself, Amenophis, the son of Papis, who seemed to partake of the divine nature, both in his wisdom and knowledge of futurity; and Amenophis returned him answer, that it was in his power to behold the gods, if he would cleanse the

[1] They will be found collected in Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832, p. 183.

[2] I quote from Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons that abounded in it. Well pleased with this information, the king gathered together out of Egypt all that laboured under any defect in body, to the amount of 80,000, and sent them to the quarries which are situated on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. And there were among them some learned priests who were affected with leprosy. And Amenophis, the wise man and prophet, fearful lest the vengeance of the gods should fall both on himself and on the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered them, added this also in a prophetic spirit: that certain people would come to the assistance of these unclean persons, and would subdue Egypt, and hold it in possession for thirteen years. These tidings, however, he dared not to communicate to the king, but left in writing an account of what should come to pass, and destroyed himself, at which the king was greatly distressed. When those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued for some time in that miserable state, the king was petitioned to set apart for their habitation and protection the city Avaris, which had been left vacant by the Shepherds; and he granted them their desire; now this city, according to the theology above, is a Typhonian city. But when they had taken possession of the city and found it well adapted for a revolt, they appointed for themselves a ruler from among the priests of Heliopolis, one whose

name was Osarsiph, and they bound themselves by oath that they would be obedient. Osarsiph then, in the first place, enacted this law, that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians hold in veneration, but sacrifice and slay them all; and that they should connect themselves with none but such as were of that confederacy.

When he had made such laws as these, and many others of a tendency directly in opposition to the custom of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should employ the multitudes of hands in rebuilding the walls about the city, and hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis the king. He then took into his counsels some others of the priests and unclean persons; and sent ambassadors to the city called Jerusalem, to those Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis; and he informed them of the position of their affairs, and requested them to come up unanimously to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised in the first place to reinstate them in their ancient city and country Avaris, and to provide a plentiful maintenance for their host, and fight for them as occasion might require, and assured them that he would easily reduce the country under their dominion. The Shepherds received this message with the greatest joy, and quickly mustered to the number of 200,000 men, and came up to Avaris. Now Amenophis the king of Egypt, when

he was informed of their invasion, was in great consternation, remembering the prophecy of Amenophis, the son of Papis. And he assembled the armies of the Egyptians, and having consulted with the leaders, he commanded the sacred animals to be brought to him, especially those which were held in more particular veneration in the temples, and he forthwith charged the priests to conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care. Moreover, he placed his son Sethos, who was also called Ramesses from his father Rampses, being then but five years old, under the protection of a faithful adherent; and marched with the rest of the Egyptians, being 300,000 warriors, against the enemy who advanced to meet him; but he did not attack them, thinking it would be to wage war against the gods, but returned, and came again to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals he had sent for, and retreated immediately into Ethiopia with all his army, and all the multitude of the Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under obligations to him. He was therefore kindly received by the king, who took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied what was necessary for their subsistence. He also allotted to him cities and villages during his exile, which was to continue from its beginning during the predestined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for an Ethiopian army upon the borders of Egypt as a protection to king Amenophis.

In the meantime, while such was the state of things in Ethiopia, the people of Jerusalem, who had come down with the unclean folk of the Egyptians, treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that those who witnessed their impieties believed that their joint sway was more execrable than that which the Shepherds had formerly exercised alone. For they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon those sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country. It is said also that the priest, who ordained their polity and laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph was derived from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called Moyses.[1]

The above story reported by Josephus has no historical value, for it is based upon an imperfect knowledge of the facts of Egyptian history. It represents that the famous architect and sage Ȧmen-ḥetep, who is a historical personage, and who flourished in the reign of Ȧmen-ḥetep III., told the king that if he wished to see the gods he must expel the "lepers" from the country; whether these men were actually lepers, or whether the word is employed to describe them as a term of abuse, cannot be said. The king

[1] Josephus, *Apion*, i. 26.

collected these "lepers," 80,000 in number, and sent them to work in the quarries [of Ṭura?], but later he gave them the city of Avaris to dwell in, for it had been evacuated by the Shepherds. There they made a priest of Heliopolis, who changed his name from Osarsiph to Moses, their ruler, and they next sent and invited the Shepherds who were living in Jerusalem to come and help them, promising to give them in return the city Avaris which they had formerly occupied. The Shepherds came, 200,000 in number, and though Amenophis collected an army of 300,000 men to fight them, he did not do so, but taking his gods from Memphis he retreated to Ethiopia, where he remained for thirteen years, whilst strangers ruled the country according to the words of the Egyptian sage. Now we know enough of the history of the reign of Åmen-ḥetep III. to be able to assert that no invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds, 200,000 strong, ever took place in his reign, and that this king did not retreat to Ethiopia for thirteen years, and that the city of Avaris had been in the hands of the Egyptians since the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty. A copyist of Manetho, from whom Josephus says he takes the story, having very possibly access to some Egyptian tradition of the Exodus of the Israelites, which ascribed it to the reign of Menephthah, erroneously confused his name (A)menephthes with the better known Åmen-ḥetep III. Thus the theory which would place the Exodus in the time of Åmen-ḥetep III. falls to the ground. More-

over, the details of the story reported by Josephus do not agree with the details of the Bible narrative, and it is clear that Manetho is describing one event, while the writer of the Book of Exodus is describing another. Elsewhere Josephus himself connects the expulsion of the Hyksos by the Egyptians with the Exodus of the Israelites, but here also his remarks are equally without historical value, for he assumes that the Hyksos were the ancestors of the Hebrews, and with characteristic boastfulness attempts to make his readers believe that among the ancestors of the Hebrews were the Hyksos kings of Egypt who, according to the passage which he professes to quote verbatim from Manetho's history, reigned over that country for about five hundred and eleven years.

An examination of the facts derived from the Egyptian monuments shows that a vast number of people, probably Semites, were expelled from the Delta at the close of the XVIIth Dynasty, and that the process of the expulsion went on vigorously under the reigns of the first three or four kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty; thus there must have been on several occasions an exodus of Semites, or at least of Canaanites, from Egypt. Of this great series of forced emigrations traditions no doubt remained among the Canaanitish tribes of Palestine and, when the Hebrews had occupied the country, were very possibly, in the process of time, incorporated by the Hebrew annalists in their account of the emigration of their own ancestors from Egypt.

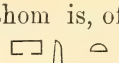
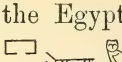
Of this earlier stratum of the Biblical narrative traces may yet be identified. This theory is rendered more probable by the fact that the Egyptians undoubtedly identified the Israelitish Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos; the Egyptian history of Manetho, when appealed to by Josephus for information from Egyptian sources concerning the Exodus of the Israelites, can only tell him of the Exodus of the Hyksos, confused with a later story of an exodus of foreigners which took place in the reign of Menephthah, who is identified with Ȧmen-ḥetep III., under whom lived the great magician Ȧmen-ḥetep, the son of Pa-Ḥāpu, who appears in the story. We thus see that the Egyptians, according to the version of Manetho as quoted by Josephus, confused the traditions of two distinct events; the Expulsion of the Hyksos, for which they had historical documents as proof, and which therefore seemed more important to them, and the Exodus of the Israelites, which was not mentioned on their monuments, and of which they, if we may trust the narrative of Josephus, possessed a confused legend. It is, therefore, very probable that similarly in the Exodus legend of the Hebrews we have a faint reminiscence of the expulsion of the Hyksos as well as a strange tradition of the events which accompanied their own Emigration from the land of Goshen.

The Egyptian version of the name of the legendary king, i.e., Ȧmen-ḥetep III., whom Osarsiph drove into Ethiopia, under whom no such event as the

Exodus can have taken place, renders it very probable, as has been seen above, that the Israelitish emigration really took place under Menephthah, whose name was easily confused with Ámen-ḥetep. The existence of an obscure Egyptian tradition that the Exodus took place under Menephthah is thus indicated. This supposition agrees with the views of the greater number of the Egyptologists who have discussed the subject, and Menephthah is very commonly considered to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which will thus have taken place about B.C. 1270, about four hundred years after the expulsion of the Hyksos. This view is entirely supported by the narrative of the Book of Exodus, as we shall see. From this we gather that the Israelites were pressed into the *corvée*, i e., they were compelled to perform a certain amount of physical labour in connexion with the public works which the king of Egypt had ordered to be carried out. Curiously enough the work was not in connexion with the maintenance of the banks of the Nile during the period of the inundation of the river, but with the erection of some wall or building, for the gangs of Israelites were compelled to make so many bricks per day. The Egyptians made the lives of the Israelites "bitter with hard bondage, in morter, "and in brick, and in all manner of service in the "field: all their service wherein they made them "serve, was with rigour (Exod. i. 14). Therefore "they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them

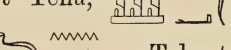
"with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh "treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses" (Exod. i. 11). Finally, "Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the "people, and their officers, saying, Ye shall no more "give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: "let them go and gather straw for themselves. And "the tale of the bricks, which they did make hereto- "fore, ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish "ought thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, "saying, Let us go, and sacrifice to our God. Let "there more work be laid upon the men, that they "may labour therein: and let them not regard vain "words. . . . So the people were scattered abroad "throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble "instead of straw. And the taskmasters hasted them, "saying, Fulfil your works, your daily tasks, as when "there was straw. And the officers of the children of "Israel, which Pharaoh's taskmasters had set over "them, were beaten, and demanded, Wherefore have "ye not fulfilled your task in making brick both "yesterday and to-day, as heretofore?" (Exod. v. 6-14).

We may note in passing that the only name by which the Hebrew writer calls the king who oppressed his countrymen so cruelly is "Pharaoh," which is, of course, the Egyptian Per-āa  i.e., "Great House"; but this was a title which was borne by every king of Egypt, and it therefore does not enable us to identify the oppressor king. The custom

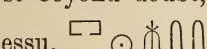
of employing foreign captives or aliens was inaugurated by Thothmes III., who employed them largely on the works connected with the great temple of Âmen-Rā at Thebes; the example which he set was followed by his successors, so we cannot identify the oppressor king by his employment of captive or alien labour. We touch firm ground in the statement that the Israelites built "for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses," for the names of these cities are well known from the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and their sites have been identified by M. Naville[1] with considerable success. The name of Pithom is, of course, the Egyptian Pa- (or Per-) Âtemt, , or , i.e., the "house of the god Tem"; this was situated in the district called in the inscriptions Thuku or Thukut,  or , which lay at the eastern end of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât, and is marked by the ruins called by the Arabs, "Tell al-Maskhûṭa." Here M. Naville found a number of strong chambers, well built of mud bricks, which he considers to have been used for storing grain and provisions for those who were about to make a journey into the Arabian desert, or as a stronghold wherein to keep the tribute which was brought from Syria and Palestine into Egypt until such time as it could be disposed of in the ordinary manner. As nothing older

[1] See *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1885.

than the time of Rameses II. has been found at Pithom we may reasonably assume that he was the builder of the city; it is, of course, possible that there was an older city on the site before his time, but even so it was Rameses II. who built the strong city which has been made known to us by its ruins. Thus, as we are told in the Bible that the Israelites built Pithom for the Pharaoh of the oppression, and as we know from the monuments discovered by M. Naville that Rameses built Pithom at the "mouth of the East," , i.e., the frontier city on the east of Goshen in which the Israelites had their abode, we get a tolerably clear idea that the Pharaoh who had the Israelites forced into the *corvée* was none other than Rameses II.

But the Bible also tells us that the Israelites built the treasure city of "Raamses," and this city can be no other than Tanis, the Zoan of the Bible, the Ṣân of Arabic writers, and the Sekhet Tchā, , or Sekhet Tchānt, , or Tchart,  of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. We may note in passing that the words "field of Zoan" in Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43, are the exact equivalent of the Egyptian name Sekhet Tchānet, i.e., "Field of Tchanet." That the Hebrews regarded Zoan as a very old city is proved by the fact that it is noted in Numbers xiii. 22, that "Hebron was built seven years

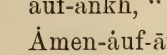
before Zoan in Egypt." The city of Tanis was an exceedingly old one, and the monuments of Pepi I. which have been found there prove that it was of considerable size and great importance in the VIth Dynasty, about B.C. 3233. The history of Tanis is a chequered one, but the great kings of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties built largely there, and many of them set up colossal statues of themselves in the famous temple; the Hyksos kings established themselves there, and usurped the sphinxes and other monuments of their predecessors which they found in the place. Seti I. was the first of the kings of the New Empire who seems to have perceived the great strategic importance of the city to the Egyptians if they wished to maintain their hold upon Palestine, and it was he who brought it into a state of comparative prosperity after a long period of neglect by the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who, associating it with the Hyksos kings, would do nothing whatsoever for it. Rameses II., following the example of his father Seti I., thought highly of the importance of Tanis, and did a great deal to restore the city. He repaired the old temples and rebuilt parts of them, he fortified the walls, and made every part of its defences strong, and he laid out gardens, and either founded or re-founded a temple there in honour of the gods Àmen, Ptaḥ, Harmachis, and Sutekh, and, in fact, made it his capital city. He usurped large numbers of statues and other monuments which had been set up by his predecessors, and by adding new ones of his own here,

there, and everywhere, he made the city almost a rival of Thebes. A certain Panbasa who had visited Tanis, which he calls the "city of Rāmessu-meri-Åmen," i.e., the city of Rameses II., in writing home to a friend says that "there is nothing in the Thebaïd which can "be compared with it." [1] As Rameses II. was the great restorer of the city his name became attached to it, and when the Egyptian spoke of "Pa-Rāmessu," i.e., the palace or temple of Rameses, he as often referred to the whole city as to the king's private residence. It will be remembered that Rameses II. was at Tanis when he agreed to the treaty which the king of the Kheta proposed, and it was from this place that he watched the development of events in Palestine and Syria, and decided to rule his country. The "Treasure city Raamses" is, then, almost beyond doubt, none other than Tanis, or Pa-Rāmessu, , or . Rameses II. was the builder king of Egypt *par excellence*, and the state of misery to which the Israelites were reduced, and which is so vividly described in the Bible, is exactly the condition to which an alien people in the Delta would be brought when turned into gangs for the *corvée* of the day.

It was Rameses II. who built the wall from Memphis to Pelusium to keep out of Egypt the hordes of nomad Semites, and he certainly carried out some works either of lengthening or deepening the canal which was intended

[1] See Goodwin in *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 11 ff.

to run eventually from the middle of the Delta to the Red Sea. In both these undertakings a vast amount of human labour would be required, and it would be of that kind which made the lot of the Israelites unbearable. Thus there seems to be no doubt that the period of greatest oppression described in the Book of Exodus fell in the reign of Rameses II., and that the works wherein the Israelites toiled were in connexion with the rebuilding of the city of Tanis and the founding of the frontier fortress of Pa-Temu, or Pithom. We may see, however, that although the Biblical account points to the period of the XIXth Dynasty as the time when the Exodus took place, there are difficulties in it which cannot altogether be explained away. In the opening verses of the first chapter of Exodus we are told that Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all his generation, and that a new king arose who knew not Joseph and who oppressed Israel; we are clearly intended to understand that the oppression and the Exodus took place after Joseph's death. But we learn from Genesis xli. 45, that the Pharaoh who raised Joseph to a high position of trust in his kingdom called him Zaphnath-paaneah, and gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. Now the name Zaphnath-Paaneah is, undoubtedly, the equivalent of the Egyptian , Tcheṭ-pa-neter-âuf-ānkh, i.e., "The god spake, and he (i.e., Joseph) came into life,"

which, owing to the dropping of the letters ṭ and r in quick pronunciation became Tche-pa-nete-âuf-ānkh. This name, however, is not found in the Egyptian inscriptions, though it is clearly imitated from names which are composed in this manner, e.g., Tchet-Ptaḥ-âuf-ānkh, "Ptaḥ spake and he came into life," Tcheṭ-Âmen-âuf-ānkh, "Âmen spake and he came into life," etc. The name Asenath is probably the Egyptian , "Nes-Net," i.e., "belonging to Neith," and Potipherah is undoubtedly , Pe-ṭā-pa-Rā, i.e., "the gift of Rā." But all these names belong to classes of names of the XXIInd and XXVIth Dynasties,[1] and are not found earlier in the inscriptions, and we must therefore assign the first few verses of the Book of Exodus and Genesis xli. 45 to a much later period than the story of the Exodus given in the Bible.

The date of Exodus and the line of the route which was followed by the Children of Israel on their departure from Egypt have given rise to endless discussions and theories, none of which, however, explain away the difficulties of the Bible narrative. We have already said that the Exodus took place about B.C. 1270, but other dates which have been proposed for it are B.C. 1314 and B.C. 1335, the former by Lepsius, and the latter by Dr. Mahler, who declares that it took place

[1] See Steindorff, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxvii., 1889, pp. 41, 42.

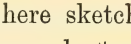
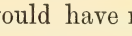
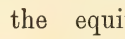
on Thursday the 27th of March, B.C. 1335. Of Dr. Mahler's date, Prof. Marti says, "Mahler assigns the "Exodus to the 27th March, 1335 B.C., which was a "Thursday, because fourteen days before that day "there occurred a central solar eclipse. This calcula- "tion rests on Talmudic data that assign the darkness "mentioned in Ex. 10. 21, to the 1st of Nisan, and "explain that that day, and therefore also the 15th of "Nisan, was a Thursday. In Ex. 10. 22, indeed, we "read of a darkness of three days; but Mahler argues "that this note of duration really belongs not to *v.* 22, "but to *v.* 23, and is meant simply to explain how "'intense and terrifying was the impression which the "darkness produced on the inhabitants of Egypt "so that no one dared for three days to leave his house.' "It is just as arbitary to assume in Gen. 15. 5 ff. an "eclipse enabling Abraham to count the stars before "sunset, and then to use the eclipse for fixing the date "of the covenant."[1] The Israelites, we know, were living in Goshen, i.e., in a portion of the Delta and of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât which lies between Zaḳâzîḳ on the north, Belbês, probably the ancient Pharbaethus, on the south, and the modern Tell al-Kebîr on the east, and we know that they set out on their way eastwards along the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât. Two ways were open to them, one went by way of Tanis and then led to the Mediterranean and thence to Syria, and the other going eastwards passed through the district of Rameses,

[1] Art. *Chronology*, in *Ency. Bibl.*, i. col. 785.

and so reached the northern end of the Red Sea, which it is supposed then extended nearly as far as the modern town of Isma'îlîya.

Many Egyptologists and theologians think that having reached Succoth, which district has been by some identified with the Thukut, , of the hieroglyphic texts, and its capital city Pa-Temu, or Pithom, they went on into the desert of Etham, and then turned towards the south, whilst others are convinced that they must have gone to the north. The former view agrees with the Bible narrative which records the divine command given to Moses that the Children of Israel should "turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon" (Exod. xiv. 2). It is, however, impossible to identify the sites of these three places with certainty, although there is no doubt that at the time when the Bible narrative was written these frontier towns or fortresses were well known. Assuming that the Israelites turned towards the south they might have crossed over into the desert at a place to the south of the Bitter Lakes, or at a place more to the north and between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsâḥ; another view is that they crossed the Red Sea a little to the north of the modern town of Sûwêz or Suez.

The boldest theory ever put forward on the route of the Exodus is that of Brugsch who, making the Israelites start from Goshen, leads them by way of Tanis

through the "field of Zoan" to a fortress, called in Egyptian Khetem, , which he identifies with Etham; they then journey past "Migdol," i.e., the Migdol near Pelusium, and make their way by some road near the great Sirbonian Bog past Pi-hahiroth, which Brugsch here regards as the equivalent of the "gulfs" or "pits" (*τὰ βάραθρα*) of the Sirbonian Bog. The route here sketched is pretty well that which was in common use by travellers from Egypt to Syria and *vice versâ*, but the Israelites were specially commanded not to use that road, the obvious reason being that the fugitives would have marched straight into the line of fortresses which the Egyptians maintained along their eastern and north-eastern frontiers, which it was their object to avoid. Moreover, it does not follow that Etham is the equivalent of the Egyptian word , i.e., "fortress," and even if it did, we do not know *which* "fortress" is referred to; and in like manner with "Migdol," which also means "fortress" or "strong place," and which is the equivalent of the Egyptian *mākthâre*, we know not *which* "Migdol" is indicated, for there was more than one Migdol both in Egypt and in Syria. Taken together, the known facts about the land of Goshen and the land of Rameses indicate that the passage of the "Red Sea" was not made either as far north as any portion of Lake Menzaleh or as far south as Suez, and that whatever water was crossed by them, be it lake or

be it sea, was situated at no great distance from the eastern part of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât. There is no evidence to show that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea were connected by means of a series of lakes, or swamps, or lagoons, when the Exodus took place, and it is far more reasonable to believe that the Israelites crossed over into the desert by means of a passage through some part of Lake Timsâḥ, which is relatively quite close to the eastern end of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât, than by a passage through the Red Sea itself. The narrative of the Book of Exodus calls the water which the Israelites crossed "Yam Sûph," i.e., the "sea of reeds," a name which they would never have given to the sea in general; and there is no doubt that they called the water by that name because it was of great extent, and because it contained reeds. This fact points to Lake Timsâḥ as the "sea of reeds," because being fed from the Nile reeds would grow in it in abundance. The application of the name "sea of reeds" to the Red Sea was a blunder made by later writers who, knowing nothing about the geography of the Isthmus of Suez, as soon as they heard or read that the Israelites had passed over a vast stretch of water, assumed that that water was the Red Sea because they knew not of the existence of any other in that part of the world.

Of the theories put forward in recent years on the Exodus a few are new, but many are either modifications of old ones, or the old ones themselves resuscitated; both new and old are, however, usually put forward by men who have no competent knowledge either of the district

which they are attempting to discuss or describe, or of the conditions under which the events related took place. It is also futile to argue that the Miṣraim out of which Israel came is not Egypt, but some country to the east or north-east of it, for all the evidence of an archaeological character which has been collected during the last few years points to the fact that Miṣraim in the Exodus narrative means Egypt and Egypt only. The views on the subject of Goshen [1] and the route of the Exodus which M. Naville has enunciated during the last few years are worthy of careful attention, for they are based on the first-hand knowledge derived from the results of the excavations which he made in the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât, where he was so fortunate as to discover the store-city of Pithom. He has treated the subject of the Exodus and the identifications of the cities mentioned in the Bible narrative with common sense and moderation, and he has not overstated the facts from which he has drawn his deductions. In the present state of Egyptological knowledge it is impossible to "settle" the difficulties which beset the Exodus question, but the present writer, who has gone over the routes proposed both by M. Naville and Sir William Dawson, thinks that, if the matter is to be considered from a practical standpoint, the only possible way for the Israelites to escape quickly into the Etham desert was by a passage across Lake Timsâḥ; on their route after they had crossed he offers no opinion.

[1] *The Store-city of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, London, 1885; *Goshen*, London, 1887.

4. 

RĀ-USR-KHEPERU-MERI-ÁMEN, son of the Sun, SETI-MER-EN-PTAḤ.



KA-NEKHT-MERI-RĀ, the Horus name of Seti II.

The immediate successor of Menephthah appears to have been SETI II., MER-EN-PTAḤ, and he is regarded as such by the greater number of Egyptologists, though definite proofs of it are not forthcoming; M. E. de Rougé considered that Ámen-meses and Sa-Ptaḥ preceded Seti II. in the rule of the kingdom. Seti II. adopted as his Horus name "Mighty Bull, beloved of Rā," and the inscriptions apply to him several of the titles which had been borne by his predecessors; he appears to have lived usually at Tanis, and to have kept watch over the unruly tribes on the north-east frontier, but although he kept the Egyptian border fortresses in a state of efficiency, he does not seem to have engaged in any wars with the peoples whom they were intended to keep out of Egypt. As a builder, however, he exhibited considerable activity. He carried on certain works at Heliopolis for his prenomen, wherein, by the way, he is called "beloved of Set," is inscribed on a large granite block, which was found near Maṭarîyeh;[1] he also usurped the two granite obelisks which stood in that city, and are

[1] Maspero, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1881, vol. xix. p. 116.

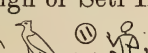
commonly called "Cleopatra's Needles." At Karnak he built a small sandstone temple in the north-east angle of the court between the First and Second Pylons; it contained three sanctuaries, which were dedicated to Ȧmen-Rā, Mut, and Khensu respectively. On the walls are scenes in which the king is represented worshipping these gods. He appears to have made



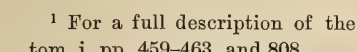
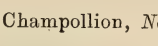
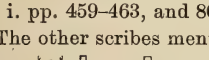
The Temple at Luxor. View from the South-west.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

some of the sphinxes which were placed before the great temple of Ȧmen-ḥetep III. at Luxor, but it is very doubtful if he built or repaired all the temple buildings on which he caused his name to be inscribed. His name occurs on monuments as far south as Abû Simbel, where it is found on one of the four colossal statues in front of the temple of Rameses II. Seti II.

built for himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings of Thebes, wherein, presumably, he was buried, but as his mummy was found in the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II. in 1898, it must have been removed there for safety in the troubled times which came upon Egypt at the end of the XXth Dynasty. The tomb consists of three long corridors, two rectangular chambers, the second having in it four square pillars, and a sanctuary. The walls of the corridors and chambers are decorated with scenes and texts from the "Book of the Praises of Rā," and the "Book of the Ṭuat," and with scenes representing the king worshipping the gods and holding converse with them. At the end of the tomb are two large fragments of the sarcophagus of Seti II.; the cover was in the form of a cartouche.[1]

In the reign of Seti II. the scribe Ånna or Ånnana, , either made a copy[2] or composed the famous "Tale of the Two Brothers,"[3] which has formed the subject of many discussions and comments. The first part of the story deals with two brothers, the one married, and the other not, who live

[1] For a full description of the tomb see Champollion, *Notices*, tom. i. pp. 459–463, and 808.

[2] The other scribes mentioned in the colophon to the papyrus are  Qa-ḳebut,  Ḥeru-å, and  Mer-em-åpt.

[3] For the literature see Maspero, *Contes*, pp. 3, 4. The tale was first translated by E. de Rougé.

in the same house, and are engaged in the same occupation, i.e., farming. The wife of the elder brother attempts to seduce the younger brother when he returns alone one day to the homestead to obtain a fresh supply of corn, but he resists her and goes back to his work. Meanwhile the wife makes herself ill, and when her husband comes home in the evening he finds no fire lit, no supper ready, and his wife lying sick and prostrate. The husband rushes out to slay his brother, who has been accused by the wife of making a violent attack upon her, but the younger brother, being warned of his brother's coming by one of the cows, takes to flight, and is pursued by the furious husband who wishes to slay him. When the younger brother is almost caught the Sun-god causes a river to come into being between the pursuer and the pursued, and the younger man succeeds in making the elder believe that he is innocent, and mutilates himself. The elder brother now becomes furious with his wife, and having gone back to his house seizes her and cuts her in pieces, which he throws to the dogs. The second part of the story is in reality quite independent of the first, and we need not concern ourselves about it here. It has often been stated that the story of the younger brother Batau and the wicked wife is nothing more than the story of Joseph and the wicked wife of Potiphar, but beyond the fact that the two women appear to have made use of much the same words, there is probably no more

connexion between the narrative of the Book of Genesis and the Egyptian story in a late XIXth Dynasty papyrus, than there is between it and the stories of the dozens of unfaithful women which could be collected from the various literatures of the world. If, however, there was any borrowing at all it was on the part of the Hebrew writer or copyist, for, as we have already seen, part of the Biblical narrative of Joseph is not older than the XXIInd, or even XXVIth Dynasty.

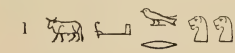
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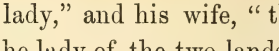
RĀ-MEN-MÀ-RĀ-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-MESES-ḤEQ-UAST.



NEB-ḤEBU-MÀ-ÀMEN, the Horus name of Àmen-meses.

Of the circumstances which led to the occupation of the throne of Egypt by ÀMENMESES nothing is known, and the details of his life and reign that have come down to us are very few. He adopted as his Horus name, "Lord of festivals, like Àmen," or "Mighty "bull, great one of two-fold strength, "stablished like [Rā],"[1] and he gave himself the titles "Mighty Bull, be-"loved of Maāt, stablisher of the two "lands, lord of the shrines of Nekhebet "and Uatchet, mighty one of wonders in the Àpts"

1 .

(i.e., in Karnak and Luxor). His mother's name was Ta-khāt, , who is described as "divine mother, royal mother, great lady," and his wife, "the royal spouse, the great one, the lady of the two lands," was called Baket-ur-nu-re ; but whether he obtained any claim to the throne through his mother or wife seems very doubtful. He probably usurped the throne in the troubled times which followed the reign of Menephthah, when, as we shall see later, there was no central government to control affairs. In an inscription of Àmen-meses, published by Lepsius,[1] he is called "beautiful god, son "of Àmen, divine essence coming forth from his (i.e. "Àmen's) members, august child of Ḥerà(?), set apart "for fair sovereignty in the North land," and the story adds that "Isis nursed him in the city of Khebit to be prince."[2] And relying on this statement, M. E. de Rougé decided that the king was born in Khebit, a city situated in the nome of Aphroditopolis.[3] But M. Maspero holds a different view, which is probably the

[1] *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 201*c*.

[2] .

[3] *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, Paris, 1858, p. 185.

correct one, that these words are not intended to be taken in a literal but in a mythological sense, and that they indicate that the king was not intended from his birth to ascend the throne, in other words, that he was not of royal descent. A somewhat similar thing is said of Thothmes III., who in an inscription[1] relates the great gifts which the gods had bestowed upon him, and goes on to say that he was "emanation of Àn-mut-f, and was like the child Horus in Khebit,"

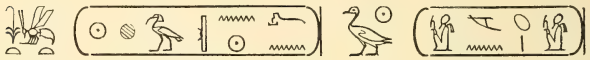


; Dr. Brugsch argued from these words that the king "had been banished to the marshy country, difficult of "access, so as to remove him from the sight of his "faithful subjects and to destroy all remembrance of "him."[2] But they meant nothing of the kind, and were merely intended to convey to the reader the fact that the king identified himself with Horus, whose powers and attributes he assumed in consequence. Amen-meses carried out some repairs on the temple at Medînet Habu, where his name is found with those of Seti I. and Ḥeru-em-ḥeb as a "restorer of monuments"; in some places at Thebes he seems to have usurped buildings, and his name appears where it has no right to be. He built a tomb at Thebes in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (No. 10), and he and his mother and wife were buried in it; the tomb consists

[1] Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 16.

[2] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 383.

of three corridors, the first of which has a small chamber opening out of it, and two chambers, the second having in it four square pillars. The first chamber contains scenes in which his mother is making offerings to the gods, and the second scenes in which his wife is making adoration to various deities. Some of the pictures on the walls are also found among the series of vignettes which illustrate the text of the XVIIth Chapter of the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*.

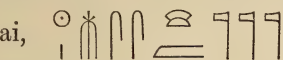
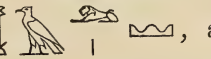
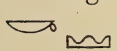
6. 

RĀ-KHU-EN-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SA-PTAḤ-MER-EN-PTAḤ.



KHĀ-EM-KHEBIT, the Horus name of Sa-Ptaḥ.

SA-PTAḤ, who was undoubtedly the successor of Åmen-meses, appears to have owed his claim to the throne of Egypt to the fact of his marriage with the lady Ta-user, or Ta-usert, . In an inscription at Sâhal dated in the first year of the king's reign we see the Prince of Kush called Seti, , kneeling in adoration before cartouches of the king, and a scene at Aswân represents the king seated upon his throne with this same Seti, who is described as a "royal scribe, fanbearer on the right hand of the

king, steward of the palace," etc., standing before him. Behind him is the chancellor Rā-meses-khā-em-neteru-Bai, , who declares that he "set the king upon the throne of his father," and from this statement some have argued that this official was the chief instrument that raised Sa-Ptaḥ to the throne of Egypt.[2] The Horus name of Sa-Ptaḥ is of interest, and we must read it "Horus rising in Khebit," i.e., the north land, which proves that the allusion is to the god Horus whom his mother Isis reared among the papyrus swamps round the city of Per-Uatchet, or Buto, in the Delta, and not to the actual birthplace of the king. We thus see that Sa-Ptaḥ reproduces as his Horus name the words which Thothmes III. applied to himself some hundreds of years before. The exact length of the reign of Sa-Ptaḥ is unknown. An inscription, found by Major Lyons in the temple of Thothmes III. at Wâdî Ḥalfa in 1893, mentions his sixth year, and another in the same place mentions a "royal envoy" or "king's messenger" to Syria, , and Nubia, ,[3] from which we may perhaps assume that communication was kept up between the kings of Syria, and the shêkhs of Nubia, but that Sa-Ptaḥ assumed any right of rule over these countries is extremely

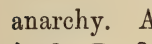
[1] See *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 202 *b* and *c*.

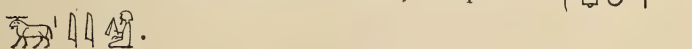
[2] E. de Rougé, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[3] Sayce in *Recueil*, tom. xvii. p. 161.

doubtful. The "royal son of Kush" as a permanent official in Nubia could make the Nubian tribes bring gifts, but that is all. Sa-Ptaḥ seems to have added nothing to the great temples of Egypt, and though he is depicted in reliefs at Silsila and at other places adoring the gods Åmen, Ptaḥ, Sekhet, and Nefer-Temu, such scenes are probably only commemorative of small repairs which he carried out. The king does not seem to have built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, and we must assume that his mummy was buried in the tomb of his wife Ta-usert; but it was removed during the disturbed times of the XXth Dynasty for safety to the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II., for it was found there early in 1898. The tomb of Queen Ta-usert (No. 14) was made on the plan usually adopted by royal personages, and consisted of three or four corridors and a number of rectangular chambers, the largest of which contained eight square pillars. The walls of the chambers were decorated with scenes representing the queen in adoration before various gods, and with texts from Chapters cxlv., clvi., clvii., clviii., etc., of the *Book of the Dead*. The tomb was usurped by Set-nekht, who plastered over most of the portraits of the queen which were on the walls, and who caused his own portrait to be drawn on the new plaster, together with his cartouches, titles, etc. The remains of the funeral temples of Ta-usert and Sa-Ptaḥ were excavated by Professor Petrie in 1896,[1] and

[1] *Six Temples at Thebes*, London, 1897, p. 13 ff., plate 22.

the evidence which he obtained by deduction from the foundation deposits apparently supports that which had been long ago obtained from the inscription of Rā-meses-khā-em-neteru-Bai[1] at Aswân. The temple of Ta-usert was situated between those of Mer-en-Ptaḥ and Thothmes IV.; the temple of Sa-Ptaḥ lies to the north of the temple of Ámen-ḥetep II. Many of the foundation deposits and sandstone blocks are inscribed with the names and titles of the king, and many with those of the great chancellor who "put an end to iniquity," and raised Sa-Ptaḥ to the throne of Egypt. With the death of Sa-Ptaḥ the XIXth Dynasty came to an end, and there seemed to be no man who had the power to take in his hands the sceptre of Egypt, which was once more falling into a state of lawlessness and anarchy. About this time a Syrian called Ársu, , of whom more will be said later, succeeded in making himself master of a portion of Syria and Egypt, and he compelled several local chieftains to acknowledge his authority and to pay him tribute; but for how long he continued to exercise his illegal authority cannot be said.

[1] His name was shortened to Bai; compare .

CHAPTER III.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

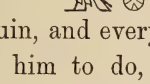
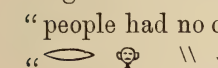
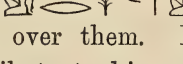
1. 

RĀ-USR-KHĀU-RĀ-SETEP-EN-ÂMEN-MERI, son of the Sun, SET-NEKHT-MERER-RĀ-MERER-ÂMEN.

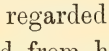


KA-NEKHT-UR-PEḤPEḤ, the Horus name of Set-Nekht.

Sa-Ptaḥ was succeeded by a king called SET-NEKHT, or NEKHT-SET, who seems to have been a relative, or connexion by marriage, of Rameses II., but we have no evidence which will show how close that relationship or connexion was. His reign must have been very short, and it is probable that Set-nekht was obliged to spend several years in conflict with the Syrian usurper Arsu and with his own relatives who, like himself, were descended from the great kings of the XIXth Dynasty, before he could consider himself the actual ruler of Egypt. We find that he adopted a Horus name, but on account of the absence of inscriptions

dating from his period we are unable to say what other titles he bestowed upon himself. Our knowledge of the condition of the country when he ascended the throne is derived from the great papyrus written by order of Rameses III., wherein we read[1]:—"The land "of Qemt,  (i.e., Egypt), had fallen into a "state of ruin, and every man did that which it seemed "right for him to do, and for very many years the "people had no chief governor (literally, 'upper mouth,' ") who was able to maintain dominion "over the others. The land of Egypt was in the "hands of the governors of the nomes, and among the "nobles and lords of the land one killed the other [as "he pleased]. There came a period after that of years of "want and great misery, and Ârsu, , "the Syrian made himself prince over them. He "placed the whole country under tribute to him, and "each man gathered whatsoever he could for himself, "and plundered the property of others, and they "treated the gods in this manner likewise as well as "men, and the sacrifices which ought to have been "made to the gods in the temples according to law "were never offered up at all. Then the gods over-"threw these men and brought peace into the country,

[1] See Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus of Rameses III.*, London, 1875, pl. 75; a translation of the whole papyrus will be found in *Records of the Past*, O.S., vol. vi. pp. 23–70; vol. viii. pp. 5–52.

"and they made the country to be what it ought to be, "and fashioned it according to what was right. And "they stablished their son who had proceeded from "their members to be the Prince (Life, Strength, "Health!) of every land which was under their throne, "Rā-usr-khāu-setep-en-Rā-meri-Ámen, son of the Sun, "Set-nekht-merer-Rā-merer-Ámen. And he became like "Kheperà-Set when he burneth with wrath and rageth, "and he provided with all things the land which was "in a condition of revolt and misery, he slew all those "who were disloyal in the Land of the Inundation, " (i.e., Egypt), and he purified the great "throne of Egypt. He became the sovereign Prince "of the two lands upon the throne of the god Tem. "He gave himself to the reconstruction of the things "which had fallen into a state of decay, and at length "every man regarded as his brethren those who had "been divided from him as by a wall. He stablished "the temples, and provided them with divine offerings, "and men made the offerings which they ought to "make unto the company of the gods according to "their ordinances."

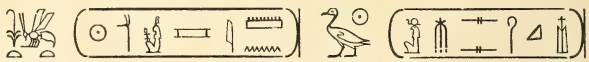
As soon as Set-nekht, or Nekht-Set, had established himself on the throne he appears to have associated his son Rameses III. with him in the rule of the country. A proof of this is supplied by a scene at Medînet Habu,[1] where over a door are seen figures of two kings kneeling, one on each side of the sun's

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 206.

disk resting on the horizon, ; the cartouches on one side are those of Set-nekht, and the cartouches on the other are those of Rameses III. Of the building operations of Set-nekht we know nothing, but it is probable that he carried out a few pressing repairs,[1] for his name has been found at Memphis and Karnak. The king was mummified, and was probably buried in the tomb of the queen Ta-usert, which he usurped, but if M. Loret is to be relied upon, his mummy must have been removed from it in the unsettled times of the XXth Dynasty to the tomb of Âmen-ḥetep II., which was found by him early in 1898. Some think that the tomb of Rameses III. in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes was begun by Set-nekht, for the name of this king can be distinctly traced in several places in the first three chambers. When Set-nekht died his own tomb was not finished, and his relatives seized the tomb of Ta-usert, and enlarged it by adding a corridor, and a large chamber with eight square pillars, and four small side chambers, and a sanctuary or niche for his statue at the end of it. The portraits of the queen in the entrance rooms were plastered over and the king's portrait put in their places, but the whole work was so hastily executed that those who carried it out had not the time to make the necessary alterations in the grammatical construction, etc., in the hieroglyphic texts which were rendered imperative by making them apply to a man instead

[1] They are tabulated by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

of a woman. We may note, before passing to the consideration of the reign of Set-nekht's great son Rameses III., that Prof. Wiedemann thinks[1] the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt is far more likely to have taken place in the period which followed the rule of Seti II. than under Menephthah, because the condition of the country, with its lack of a central government and with uprisings on every side, was far more favourable to the flight of the children of Israel immediately after the death of Seti II. than earlier.

2. 

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-MER-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESES-ḤEQ-ÀN.

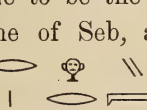


KA-NEKHT-ĀĀ-SUTENIU, the Horus name of Rameses III.

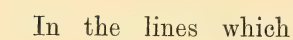
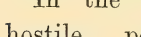
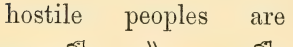
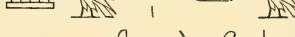
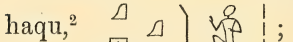
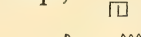
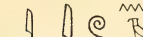
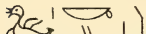
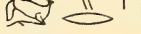
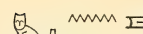
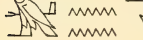
RĀ-MESSU III. or RAMESES III., the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, was the son of Set-nekht, with whom, for a short period, he had been associated in the government of the country. His Horus names were, "Mighty Bull, great one of kings," and "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt, stablisher of the lands";[2] and he styled himself, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, mighty one of festivals, like Ta-Thenen, , the Horus of gold, mighty one of years, prince,

[1] *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 491 ff.

[2] Or, Ka-nekht-meri-Maāt-smen-taiu, .

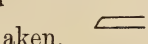
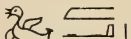
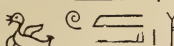
protector of Egypt, vanquisher of foreign lands, victor over the Sati (Asiatics), subduer of the Libyans, enlarger of Egypt," etc. The youth of Rameses III. must have been passed amid scenes of revolt and bloodshed, for in the summary of his reign given by him in the great Harris Papyrus, the few lines of text which describe his accession are followed at once by a summary of two or three of his great wars which he waged against the Libyan tribes and their allies. Of himself he says, "He (i.e., his father Set-nekht) ap-
"pointed me to be the *erpāt* (or, hereditary chief) on
"the throne of Seb, and I became the great chief
"mouth, , of the lands of Qemt, and
"ruler of the whole country, everywhere alike. . . .
"Father Åmen, the lord of the gods, and Rā, and Tem,
"and Ptaḥ of the Beautiful Face made me to rise up
"as lord of the two lands upon the seat of my begetter,
"and I received the rank of my father with cries of
"joy, and the whole country was content thereat, and
"it was pleased, and rejoiced and was glad to see me
"the Ruler of the two lands even as Horus ruleth the
"two lands from the throne of Osiris. I was crowned
"with the Atef crown and the uraei. I fastened upon
"myself the crown with the double plumes like
"Ta-tenen, and I seated myself upon the throne of
"Ḥeru-khuti, being arrayed in the decorated apparel
"of royalty like Tem."[1]

[1] Harris Papyrus, Brit. Mus., No. 9900, plate 76.

In the lines which follow these words among hostile peoples are enumerated :— Shairetana,[1] ; the Qehaqu,[2] ; the Taanaunau,[3]  from their islands; the Tchakireu,[4] ; the Puirsathau,[5] ; the Uasheshu of the sea,[6] ; the Saaaireu,[7] ; the Shasu,[8] ; the Rebu, or Lebumer,[9] ; the Mashuaashau,[10] ; the Sabatau, ; the Qaiqashau, ; the Shaiu, ; the Hasau, ; the Bakanau, , and other Libyan tribes.

[1] I.e., Sardians (?).
[2] Libyans.
[3] Danaans (?) from Crete or Asia Minor.
[4] Teukrians (?) from Crete.
[5] Philistines.
[6] Axians from Crete.
[7] People from Seir.
[8] Nomad Semites.
[9] Libyans of the sea.
[10] Maxyes.

The tribes here mentioned and their allies seem to have been preparing for war for some years before they ventured to make a great attack upon Egypt, and it appears that Rameses III. made no attempt to check their preparations, whilst he was himself making ready an army of sufficient size and strength to make the victory of the Egyptians certain. The enemy, however, was strong, and had the practical sympathy not only of the tribes which were akin to him, but also of the dwellers in the Delta, and in the land which lay between Egypt and Syria.

In the fifth year of Rameses III. the allied forces attacked Egypt under the leadership of Ṭit, ; Māshaken, ; Māreaiu, ; Tchamāre,  or ; but their hosts were defeated, and they had the mortification of seeing about twelve thousand of their dead warriors mutilated.[1] Large numbers of prisoners were taken, and Rameses III. tells us that he made many of them enter his service, and that when he had done so he garrisoned some of the larger cities of Egypt with them.

Three years later, i.e., in the eighth year of his reign, an invasion of Egypt on its north-east frontier was threatened by the allied armies of a

[1] For the Egyptian text see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. ii. pl. 46.

number of nations and tribes, among whom were the Puirsathà or Philistines, and peoples from Crete and Cyprus and from the northern shores of the Mediterranean, who arranged their plan of attack in such a way that the invaders of Egyptian territory by sea might be assisted by their allies on land. Among the allies on land were many nations which had formerly been numbered with the Kheta, but which, owing either to the weakness of the central government in Northern Syria or to its entire overthrow, had been drawn into the league of the Mediterranean sea-robbers, and so once again appeared as the foes of Egypt. Rameses III. collected his ships and his soldiers, and when all was ready he left Egypt, and passing through the famous frontier fortress of Tchar, made his way into Palestine; we may assume that his soldiers who were in the ships were never very far from his soldiers on land, and that their movements were always carefully regulated. At length the combatants met, and a fierce fight took place between them; the site of the battle-field is unknown, but it cannot have been situated many days' march from the fortress Tchar, and it is most probable that the battle was actually fought in Palestine. The Egyptians, thanks to the mercenaries, were victorious, and though the enemy appear to have fought with great bravery, they yielded by degrees and at length took to flight, and tried to reach their vessels, which seem to have been drawn up on the sea shore. They were followed

by the Egyptians, who pursued them with vigour, and when the foe arrived at the coast and attempted to escape in their ships they found their course blocked by the ships of the Egyptian navy, and they were thus caught between two fires; the allies dwelling on the Mediterranean coasts and the robbers on the high seas were completely defeated, and large numbers of them were killed or taken prisoners.

The Egyptian annalist naturally magnifies this sea-fight in which his countrymen were so signally victorious, and rightly so, because the victory was all-important to the Egyptians; had the enemy escaped in the ships of their allies they would have been free to repeat the exploits of their predecessors in the reign of Âmen-ḥetep IV., which resulted in the downfall of the Egyptian power in Syria. Rameses III. having thus disposed of the enemy in Palestine marched up into Syria, and passing through the provinces which had once been in the possession of Egypt, attempted to make the people acknowledge his sovereignty, and also to pay him tribute as their ancestors had paid tribute to the kings of Egypt in the days of old. His attempt was not, apparently, very successful, if we may judge by the destruction which he wrought in the country, for he cut down the fruit trees, and set fire to the standing corn, and laid waste whole villages, and looted and plundered in true Oriental fashion. When Rameses III. returned to Egypt laden with spoil, the people probably thought that there was

to be a revival of the annual campaigns which had formed such a prominent feature of the reigns of the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but if they did they were mistaken, for both in the sea-fight and in the raid which followed it, the Egyptians knew well that they had only saved themselves by the greatest good fortune, and that henceforth Egypt would have to guard herself with the utmost diligence if she intended to keep even the line of frontier fortresses in her own possession.

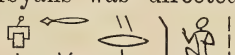
Rameses III., having returned to Egypt, devoted himself to the work of building a palace and other edifices at Thebes, but before they were finished the peace of Egypt was again disturbed by the Libyans, who made a second attack upon the country under the leadership of Kapur,[1] , and his son Māshashare, , chiefs of the Māshauasha tribe. Rameses III. marched out to meet his foes, who had assembled in very large numbers, and if we may believe the Egyptian annalist it was the individual acts of bravery on the part of the king which won him the day. The gods Bār and Menthu seemed to have taken up their abode in the body of the king—for he was as terrible as they in battle, and the enemy believed that they had a supernatural being to contend with. The Libyans "were

[1] For the text see Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. xiii. ff.

"surrounded by fire and their bones were burned to "powder in their flesh; they marched on the land as "if they had been marching to the place of slaughter; "their hosts were massacred where they were, their "mouths were shut for ever, and they fell down at a "blow. Their captains who marched in front of them "were tied together like birds before the hawk which "darts upon them from his hiding-place within the "wood. The soul of the enemy said for the second "time that they would pass their lives on the frontiers "of Egypt, and that they would till the valleys and "plains thereof as their own possessions. But death "came upon them in Egypt, and on their own feet they "entered into the furnace which burneth up filth, and "into the fire of the bravery of the king who raged "at them like Bār from the heights of heaven. All his "limbs were endowed with the might of victory; with "his right hand he seized the multitudes, and his left "stretched itself out over those who were in front of "him and was like arrows against them to destroy "them; his sword cut like that of his father Menthu. "Kapure, who had come to receive the adoration [of "the king], was like a blind man, and cast his weapons "down upon the ground, and his army did likewise; he "uttered a cry for mercy which went up to the heights "of heaven, and his son stopped his foot and his hand. ". . . His Majesty fell upon their heads like a "granite mountain, and he crushed them utterly, and "mixed the earth with their blood which ran down

"like water. The soldiers were slaughtered, and their
"warriors slain; [others] were captured and beaten, and
"their arms were tied together like the wings of geese
"on a boat beneath the feet of his Majesty. The king
"was like unto the god Menthu, and his victorious feet
"rested upon the head of the enemy, whose chiefs were
"smitten and held fast within his hand. . . . The
"enemy fell at the feet of his Majesty, and his captains,
"and his allies, and his soldiers were lost. His eyes
"were smitten as if he had looked upon the form of
"the Sun, and his warriors came quickly leading their
"children and carrying gifts in their hands to make
"themselves the prisoners of his Majesty. . . . The
"lord of Egypt was [as] the fire of the goddess Sekhet
"among them, and he destroyed their hearts, and their
"bones were burned to powder in their bodies. All the
"country rejoiced to see the valour of Rameses [III.].
"The enemy said, 'We have heard of the plans of the
"fathers of our fathers, and the breaking of our backs
"by Egypt hath arisen through them; we put our-
"selves in revolt, and we imagined that we could do
"what we pleased, and we ran at our own instigation
"to seek the flame. The Libyans have troubled us
"even as they troubled themselves; we have listened
"to their thoughts and the fire hath burned us up; we
"have sinned, and we have been punished for all
"eternity. Their offence was to see the frontiers of
"Egypt, and Menthu with the victorious arms who
"delighteth in battle, Rameses [III.] hath made them

"to enter into the underworld.' The country of the "Māshauasha hath been smitten down at a blow, and "their friends the Libyans have been slaughtered, and "they shall never reap again."

Setting aside all these high-flown descriptions of the prowess of Rameses III., it is clear that the Egyptians gained what they well believed to be a great victory, and that they took great booty from the vanquished. They captured 342 women, 65 young women, 151, , girls, the commander-in-chief of the Māshauasha, 5 generals, 1205 men, 152 petty officers, and 131 young men; and 2175 of the Māshauasha were slain by his Majesty. Among the spoil carried off by the Egyptians were 115 swords five cubits long, 124 swords three cubits long, 603 bows, 93 chariots, 2310 quivers, 92 spear-heads, 183 horses and asses, and large numbers of cattle.[1] Rameses III. was now master of the countries on both sides of the Delta, and he was able to resume his building operations, and to carry out at his leisure various schemes in connexion with the development of trade between Egypt and the neighbouring nations, for the only other expedition which he undertook after the defeat of the Libyans was directed against the people called Sāaire,[2] . The Sāaire

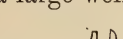
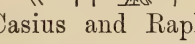
[1] See Dümichen, *Hist. Inschriften*, vol. i. pl. 26; and Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, Paris, 1873, p. 238 ff.

[2] See Brit. Mus., Papyrus No. 9900, sheet 176, line 9.

are described as belonging to the "tribes of the Shasu," , and are thought to have lived on and about Mount Seir, and to be identical with the בְּנֵי שֵׂעִיר of Genesis xxxvi. 20;[1] they may well have been Edomites. Some have thought that, because Rameses III. included the names of certain Nubian countries in the lists of conquered lands which were inscribed upon his temples, he waged wars in Nubia, but this does not follow, for many of his lists are palpable copies of those of his ancestors, and there is very good reason for doubting the historical character of many parts of them. If it be remembered that, according to the Egyptian evidence, fewer than 2500 Libyans were killed in the great battle of Rameses III. against the Libyans and their allies, and that fewer than 2500 were taken prisoners, we shall be able to estimate at their true worth the boastful rejoicings, which, when translated into words, he allowed to be inscribed on the walls of his temples. The punishment which Mer-en-Ptaḥ inflicted upon the Libyans was much more severe, and there is little doubt that Rameses III. wished fervently that his predecessor had followed up his advantage and pursued the Libyan king until he had caught him and killed him.

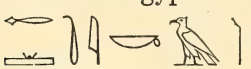
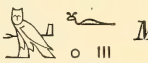
The last few pages of the great Papyrus of Rameses III. supply us with some valuable information con-

[1] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 136.

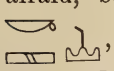
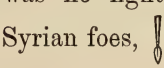
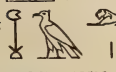
cerning the works which were carried on by the king, both architectural and mining, and we find that for purposes of trade he built a large well, , in the country of Āāina, , i.e., a district between Mount Casius and Raphia on the road from Egypt to Syria, which he surrounded with a strong building twenty cubits square (?) and thirty cubits high. The object of this fortified well was, of course, that the royal caravans which passed that way from Syria into Egypt might be certain of always finding water for their camels there. Rameses III. next built a fleet of large boats,[1] which he provided with crews, among whom were numbers of bowmen, and he directed them to trade on the Phoenician coast;[2] it seems, too, that the same fleet, or at any rate a part of it, went to the land of Punt, to the south of the Red Sea, for the king declares that his ships returned laden with all the marvellous products of the country or region called Neter-taui, , and that they unloaded at the mountain of Qebti, or Coptos, i.e., at some port near Ḳuṣêr. We may then conclude that one fleet was kept in Mediterranean waters and another in the Red Sea.

[1] .

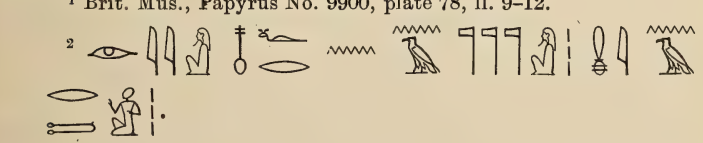
[2] Literally, "in the great sea of the water of Qet," .

The copper industry of the Sinaitic Peninsula was, apparently, re-started by Rameses III., and envoys were sent from Egypt to work the copper mines of Āathâka, , i.e., the Gebel 'Atâḳa of the Arab authors, and the metal in ingots was brought in ships to the port for Egypt in the Red Sea, and then loaded on asses and so carried by way of the Wâdî Ḥammâmât into Upper Egypt. Other officers were sent to work the turquoise mines in the Sinaitic Peninsula,  *Māfek*, and large numbers of fine genuine stones were carried to the king in Egypt. The greatest efforts were made by Rameses III. to ensure the success of his trading expeditions, and all his care seems to have been devoted to the development of new markets and the maintenance of the old ones. The mercenaries who were scattered throughout Egypt maintained peace, and as long as their wages were paid, and they were allowed to lead a life of comparative ease they were faithful enough; their presence was now all-important to the Egyptians because it prevented the Shasu and the Rebu, or Libyans, from renewing their attacks on the country.

The latter part of the reign of Rameses III. was an era of peace and plenty, and of great mercantile success, and the merchant princes of Punt and Syria feared not to come to Egypt with their wares because they knew that Egypt was no longer a sovereign country bent on conquest, but a land ruled by a king whose aim was

the prosecution of successful commercial enterprise. The king says, "I made the whole country to be "covered with blossom-bearing trees, and I made all "the people to sit down (or, dwell) beneath their "shade. I made it possible for an Egyptian woman "to walk with a bold and free step whithersoever she "pleased, and no man or woman among the people of "the land would molest her. In my time I made the "cavalry and the bowmen of the Shairetana and "Qehaq to dwell in their towns, and to lie down stretched "out at full length on their backs, and they were not "afraid, because there was no fighting with Kush, ", nor with the Syrian foes, 
". Their bows and their weapons of "war were laid up inside their guard-houses, and they "were filled with meat and drink which they partook "of with rejoicings, and their wives and their children "were with them, and they looked not behind them "because their hearts were glad."[1] And in conclusion the king says that he gave entire freedom to gentle and simple, and to rich and poor, that he pardoned the malefactor and relieved the oppressed, and that he did that which was good both to gods and to men.[2]

[1] Brit. Mus., Papyrus No. 9900, plate 78, ll. 9–12.

[2] .

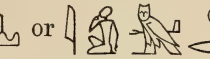
The facts of the history of the reign of Rameses III. bear out the general accuracy of the above description of the state of the country, and it is easy to understand the rapidity with which Egypt lost her position of power among the nations after the death of Rameses III.

Among the numerous buildings of Rameses III. must be specially mentioned the so-called "Pavilion of



The Temple-Fortress of Rameses III. at Medînet Habu.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

Rameses III." and the Great Temple which he erected at Medînet Habu. The pavilion represents an attempt to reproduce in Egypt a small fort or strong city similar to the forts in use among the people of Northern Syria. It consisted of two rectangular towers about 72 feet high and 26 feet wide; the walls behind them open out

and form a small court, but they soon contract, and come close together until finally the two wings of the building unite. On the south tower are sculptures in which the king is represented clubbing his enemies, i.e., the Ethiopians and the Libyans who live on the west bank of the Nile, and the chiefs of the Tulsha, or Tursha, and Māshauasha. Some of the chiefs here represented have the features of negroes, but the chief of the Māshauasha somewhat resembles a Semite. On the north tower are represented the chiefs of Asiatic and Mediterranean peoples, among them being the "vile prince of Kheta, the vile prince of Ámāre," or Ámāur,  or , and the chiefs of the tribes of the Tchakaire, of the Shairetana of the sea, of the Shakalasha, of the Thuirsha of the sea, and of the Pulasthá, or Philistines. In the space between the two towers are scenes in which the king is depicted in the act of worshipping the gods Ánher-Shu, , Tefnut, Temu, Iusāaset, , Ptaḥ, Sekhet, Thoth, and other gods. The walls of the upper rooms, which are entered by a staircase in the south tower, are decorated with reliefs in which the king is surrounded by a number of women who fan him or play the tambourine, and who bring him flowers and fruit and drink, etc.; in some reliefs the king is seated and is playing draughts with a naked woman who stands on the

other side of the table which supports the draught-board.

The meaning of these scenes has been much discussed, and many writers have thought it proved by them that this portion of the building was used as a palace by the king, but as M. Daressy has said,[1] the rooms are far too small ever to have been employed as a dwelling-place by Rameses III. and his train. The palace of Ámen-ḥetep III. at Birket Habu and of his son Ámen-ḥetep IV. at Khut-Áten, or Tell el-'Amarna, prove that the palaces of Egyptian kings consisted of large one-storied buildings, made of unbaked brick, which contained a great number of rooms wherein the only luxury apparent was in the decorations which adorned the walls. As there are no inscriptions with the reliefs we cannot say who the ladies with the king are, but some of them appear to be of royal rank, although the queen is not among them. M. Daressy is inclined to think that this portion of the building was used as a place where the king's daughters were educated under the care of priestesses, but, on the other hand, it may have been the abode of the servants of the god Ámen, to which the king only, as the incarnation of the god Ámen on earth, had access. The Great Temple of Rameses III. was built by the king to commemorate himself, and it is, perhaps, the most interesting of all the funerary chapels on the Nile at Thebes; it

[1] *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, Cairo, 1897, p. 57.

measures 500 feet by 160 feet, and its walls were ornamented with scenes, and reliefs, and texts illustrating the campaigns of the king. On the lower parts of the towers of the first pylon the reliefs represent the king clubbing a number of representatives of vanquished peoples, and near these are 86 captives, arranged in two rows, with their names enclosed within ovals on



The first Court of the Temple at Medînet Habu.
From a photograph by A. Beato, Luxor.

their bodies. The types of features of these captives are Semitic, Northern Syrian, and Negro, but it is clear that the arrangement of the faces is an artificial one, and it does not follow that the features of any captive necessarily represent those which are suggested by the name on his body. The list of names is made up of portions of

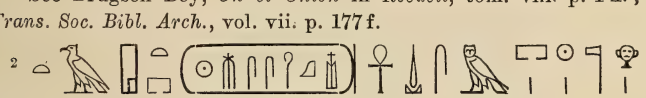
the lists of nations conquered by Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses II., and is of little value for purely historical purposes. The peoples represented are from Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Libya, Kush, etc., and the accompanying text describes in boastful language the king's victory over the Libyans.

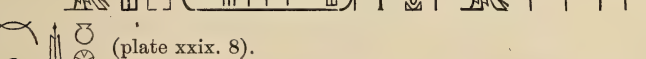
In the first court are reliefs which describe his battle with the Libyans in the eleventh year of his reign, and texts which describe the chief events in it and give the amount of spoil taken; in this court are seven rectangular pillars, in the front of each of which was a statue of the god Osiris, about twenty feet high. In the second court are reliefs which depict the defeat of the Mediterranean peoples and of their allies from Northern Syria. A great deal of damage was done to the temple by the earthquake which took place B.C. 27, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember that the foundations of the temple are only six feet deep, and that they rest upon a bed of sand. At Karnak Rameses III. built a temple in honour of the god Khensu, the third member of the Theban triad, but the greater part of its decoration was completed by Rameses IV. and by others of his successors; he also built a small temple near the great temple of the goddess Mut.

At Tell el-Yahudîyeh, i.e., the Mound of the Jewess, Rameses III. built a small palace which contained a chamber lined with beautifully glazed tiles ornamented with floral designs, and figures

of birds, and animals, and representatives of foreign conquered tribes and nations; a large number of the finest examples of these tiles were acquired by the British Museum through the exertions of the late Rev. Greville J. Chester, B.A., and they form one of the most interesting groups of the objects in *faïence* exhibited in that institution.[1] That Tell el-Yahudîyeh represents the site of the temple which Onias, the high-priest of the Jews, built at Onion in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor I. seems clear enough, but it is not so evident what ancient Egyptian city once stood there. Some have thought that the site is that of the city of Heliopolis, but this seems hardly possible; there may, however, have been a northern and a southern part of the city which were called "Ânnu Meḥt" and "Ânnu Resu" respectively, especially as we learn from the great Papyrus of Rameses III. that he built "the palace of Rameses [III.], prince of Ânnu, "in the House of the Sun to the north of Ânnu,"[2] and that he called this palace "the palace of millions of "years of Rameses [III.], prince of Ânnu."[3] The

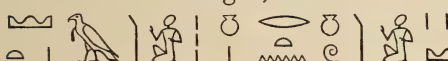
[1] See Brugsch Bey, *On et Onion* in *Recueil*, tom. viii. p. 1 ff.; *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 177 f.

[2]  (plate xxix. 8).

[3]  (plate xxix. 8).

"palace of millions of years" was dedicated to Rā-Harmachis, and this suggests at least that the site of the palace of Rameses III. was in or near Heliopolis.[1] Many of the ancient temples of Egypt were either rebuilt or repaired by Rameses III., and his name is found upon their remains in many places between the Mediterranean Sea and Wâdi Ḥalfa. The temples, however, which he most favoured were those of Åmen-Rā at Thebes, Temu at Heliopolis, and Ptaḥ at Memphis, and the enumeration of the offerings which he made to the gods and of the gifts of gold, silver, copper, scented woods, precious stones, linen, perfumes, oil, incense, wine, bread, cakes, oxen, sheep, feathered fowl, fish, fruit, flowers, garden-herbs, statues, etc., fills dozens of large sheets of papyrus. An idea of the magnitude of his gifts may be gathered from the following figures:—To the three gods he gave, besides other things, 2756 images, 113,433 men, 490,386 oxen and cattle of various kinds, 1,071,780 *aruras* of land, 514 vineyards and orchards, 88 boats, 160 towns of Egypt, 9 towns of Syria, 324,750 bundles of fodder, 71,000 bundles of flax, 426,965 water-fowl, 1,075,635 rings, scarabs, etc., 2,382,650 sacks of fruit, 353,919 fat geese, 355,084 blocks of salt and natron, 6,272,431 loaves of bread, 490,000 fish, 19,130,032 measures of

[1] Tell el-Yahudîyeh was excavated by the late Dr. H. Brugsch and Mariette, and later by E. Brugsch Bey and Mr. F. Ll. Griffith; the work of Mr. Griffith is described by himself in the *Antiquities of Tell el-Yahûdiyeh*.

vegetables, 1,933,766 jars of honey, oil, etc., 48,236 images of Ḥāpi, and 5,279,552 bushels of corn, etc. In Syria,  *Tcha*, Rameses III. built a "hidden temple, , like unto the "horizon of the heaven above" in the region called Pa-Kanāna, , which some identify with a city in Galilee,[1] and others with the country of Canaan.[2] This temple was dedicated to the Sun-god, and the Asiatics of Retennu, , hastened to bring their offerings to it.

Rameses III. built a magnificent tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and though not as fine a piece of work as the tomb of Rameses II., it is certainly one of the largest and most interesting of all the royal tombs at Thebes. It is commonly known as the "Tomb of the Harper," or, "Bruce's Tomb"; the first name is given to it because it contains two famous scenes in which harpers are depicted playing harps before the gods Àn-ḥer, Shu, and Temu, and the second because it was discovered by the great traveller James Bruce (born December 14th, 1730; died 1794). The tomb was begun by Set-nekht, the father of Rameses III., who hewed out the first three chambers, and in places

[1] Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 475.
[2] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 205.

where the plaster has fallen away his name may yet be read. It is about four hundred feet in length, and is remarkable for the side chambers which open off the corridors, two from the first and eight from the second. The walls of the chambers, etc., are ornamented with scenes in which the king is represented worshipping the gods, and with texts extracted from the "Book of praising Rā," and from the "Book of that which is in the Underworld," etc. The red granite monolithic sarcophagus of the king was found in the large hall with eight square pillars at the end of the tomb, and is in the form of a cartouche, ; it is covered inside and outside with scenes and inscriptions from the "Book of that which is in the Underworld," and is now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris. Its cover was brought to England by G. Belzoni (died at Gato in Benin, December 3rd, 1823), and was presented to the University of Cambridge in 1823; it was for many years allowed to lie exposed to the ill effects of the weather on the top of the steps of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, but it is now inside the building itself.[1] The mummy of the king was found among the royal mummies brought from Dêr al-Baḥarî, and is now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. It had, in ancient times, been deposited in the coffin of Queen Nefert-âri, and

[1] See Birch, *Antiquarian Communications*, vol. iii. pp. 371–378; and my *Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1893, p. 1 ff.

was for some time regarded as her mummy; but when it was unrolled on June 1st, 1886, it was seen from the hieratic writing on the bandages that it was certainly the mummy of Rameses III., and that new linen bandages had been provided for it in the 9th year of the high-priest of Âmen-Rā, Painetchem I., about B.C. 1100. According to M. Maspero,[1] the features of Rameses III. resemble those of his great ancestor Rameses II., but are somewhat softer, and finer, and more intelligent; his figure, however, is less straight, the shoulders are narrower, and there is less vigour in it.

If Rameses III. did not become one of the most powerful of the Theban heroes of Egypt, it was not due to any want of energy or ability on his part, but to the feebleness of the century in which he was born



Mummy of King Rameses III.

[1] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 481; *Les Momies Royales*, p. 563 ff.

which prevented him from giving full play to his genius. To him, however, some credit is due, for when he ascended the throne of Egypt the country was impoverished, and was without soldiers and ships and money; on the west the Libyans had seized some of her possessions, and on the north-east her allied enemies were threatening an attack by sea. During the thirty-two years of his reign he built a fleet of war and merchant ships, and formed an army of natives and mercenaries, and re-established the commerce of Egypt on broad lines.

Towards the close of his reign a conspiracy was hatched by a number of the ladies of the court, who were helped by certain high officials, the object of which was to kill or depose the king and set in his place upon the throne of Egypt one Pen-ta-urt, the son of the royal concubine (?) Thi,[1] who wished that her son should reign instead of one of the sons of the "royal wife, the great lady, the lady of the two lands, Âst," whom she probably hated. Thi was joined by several ladies of the court, and she and they succeeded in corrupting Paibakakamen the steward, Mesṭ-su-Rā the chancellor, Paanauk the inspector, Pen-tuauu the scribe, and the officials Panifuemta-Âmen, Karpusa, Khā-em-Âpt, Khā-em-maā-en-re, Seti-em-pa-Teḥuti, Seti-em-pa-Âmen, Uarma, Ash-hebs-heb,

[1] No mention of Thi as a wife of Rameses III. occurs in the texts, and it is possible that Pen-ta-urt may have been the brother and not the son of the king.

Paka-Rā, and Rebu-inini; beside these a number of other officials were also implicated in the conspiracy. The lady Thi and her friends selected Paibakakamen the steward for their chief confidant, because his high position at court made him practically above suspicion, and he was free to go where he pleased and do what he liked without question. It was he who carried the details of the plot from Thi to the mothers and brothers of her sympathizers, and it was he who advised the officials who were his subordinates how to act. The downfall or death of the king was to be brought about by inciting the Egyptian troops stationed in Nubia to revolt and to attack Egypt, and by stirring up the people of Egypt themselves to rise at the moment of revolt, and to join the rebels in working the ruin of the existing government. The commander of the troops in Nubia was favourable to the plot, for his sister was one of the court malcontents, and she had won him over to the cause of Thi and her son Pen-ta-urt. Not content with the means here described, the conspirators took into their service a certain cattle inspector called Hui, who had the reputation of being a great magician, and having obtained for him from the Royal Library at Thebes a book of magic, they directed him to do such things as would result in the death of the king and his friends. Hui made figures of men in wax and amulets which were inscribed with words of magical power, and these he introduced into the palace by means of a man whom

he bewitched by his magic. The amulets were intended for the ladies in the conspiracy, who by means of them hoped to make themselves irresistible to the officials whom they wanted to win over to their side, but the wax figures seem to have been designed to work evil on the king. But in an evil hour for the conspirators the plot was revealed to the king, with the result that the ringleaders were at once arrested. Rameses appointed a commission of inquiry, and having told the members thereof to investigate the matter quickly and thoroughly, he ordered that those who were found guilty of death should commit suicide, and that those who were condemned to suffer punishments of a less serious nature should undergo them without his knowing anything about it. The king would give the members of the commission none of the information which had been communicated to him by the man who revealed the plot to him, for he wished the matter to be threshed out by the usual legal—or illegal—means employed in such cases.

The commission consisted of eleven judges, six of whom tried the officials who were connected with the court or *harîm*, and whose offences were not considered to be sufficiently grave to warrant the sentence of death being passed upon them; the punishments inflicted by the court of six judges were probably beating with sticks on the back or feet, and slitting of the nose and ears. The court of five judges tried Pen-ta-urt, the son of Thi, and his friends the

general of the bowmen in Ethiopia, certain scribes of the "Double House of Life," a high-priest of the goddess Sekhet, Paibakakamen the steward, and others, and found them guilty of carrying out the plans of the lady Thi, and of inciting the soldiery and people to rebellion, and of having full knowledge of the conspiracy and of making no report on the same to the king. The commander-in-chief of Nubia seems to have escaped death, probably because his sister was a lady in the *harîm*, but all the ringleaders were sentenced to death, which they were compelled to suffer by their own hands; and forty men and six women seem to have been executed. Concerning the would-be king, Pen-ta-urt, it is said, "Pen-ta-urt, who is also known "by another name, was brought before the court and "charged with complicity in the conspiracy which his "mother Thi made with the women of the *harîm*, and "with acting in a manner hostile to his lord the king; "having been examined by the officers of the court the "judges found him guilty, and they sent him away to "his house where he took his own life." Towards the end of the case against the ordinary officials of the *harîm*, it was found that three of the six judges who were trying them had been concerned in the plot, and they were degraded and tried forthwith and eventually sentenced to death.[1] It is interesting to note that

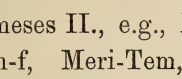
[1] For the texts and translations see Devéria, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin*, Paris, 1868; and Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 164.

certain of the criminals who were of high rank, and who were probably nearly related to the king, were allowed to commit suicide, or at least choose their own manner of death, in their own houses, in order that their families might be spared the disgrace which would necessarily attach itself to death at the hands of the common executioner.

By what manner of death Pen-ta-urt died cannot be said, but it was probably by poison. Among the mummies which M. Maspero found at Dêr al-Baḥarî was one which may well be that of Pen-ta-urt; it was enclosed in a simple, uninscribed coffin painted white, and it is evident that the body was not prepared in any way before it was turned into a mummy, for it was laid in a thick layer of linen and then swathed. The hands and the feet are tied together with strong bandages, the hands being clenched and the feet drawn up as if under the influence of some terrible pain; the abdomen has collapsed, the chest and stomach are thrust forward, the head is thrown back, and the lips are drawn tightly away from the teeth. M. Maspero is of opinion that the deceased was bandaged alive,[1] but the appearance of the body rather suggests that he died in great agony from the result of some strong irritant poison, and that the bandaging was done after *rigor mortis* had set in. But whatever the cause of death, the man must have

[1] La conviction presque s'impose que l'homme fut revêtu vivant du maillot. *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 480.

been of royal rank, otherwise he would not have been found with the other royal mummies at Dêr al-Baḥarî.

From the great papyrus of Rameses III. we learn that this king assembled the nobles of his kingdom in solemn conclave in the thirty-second year of his reign, and associated his son with him in the rule of the kingdom; it seems that the joint rule of father and son lasted for four years.[1] The chief wife of Rameses III. was called Âst, but it appears that she had also another name;[2] her father's name was Ḥu-bunu-re-tchanth . The sons of Rameses III. were called after the names of the sons of Rameses II., e.g., Pa-Rā-ḥer-unami-f, Menthu-ḥer-khepesh-f, Meri-Tem, Khā-em-Uast, Âmen-ḥer-khepesh-f, Rā-meses-meri-Âmen, etc.[3] As might be expected, tradition as preserved by Greek writers busied itself with the name and deeds of Rameses III., and it is interesting to note how the common facts of his history became distorted in the hands of authors who repeated popular accounts of him, and who added to or altered them to suit their individual views and fancies. According to Herodotus (ii. 121), Rameses III., or as he calls him Rhampsinitus, Ῥαμψίνιτος, was the son of Proteus, the successor of Pheron,

[1] Maspero, *ibid.*, p. 481.

[2] Brugsch and Bouriant give ; *Livre des Rois*, p. 83.

[3] See Erman in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 61.

the successor of Sesostris, and of him he relates the following:—

"After the deceasse of Protheus, Rampsinitus[1] tooke "uppon hym the rule of the countrey, who in memorie "of himselfe, lefte behynde hym certayne porches of "stone,[2] planted westward agaynst the temple of "Vulcane,[3] right ouer agaynst the whych, stoode two "images fyue and twentye cubites in length. One of "the which standyng northerly, they call sommer, and "the other lying to the west, they tearme winter, "contrary to all reason and order. This King in "aboundance of wealth, and plenty of coyne,[4] so farre "excelled all those that came after hym, that none "coulde go beyonde him, no not approch neere unto "hym in that kynde: wherefore desirous to possesse "hys goodes in safetie, hee builte hym a treasurie or "jewell-house of stone,[5] one of the walles whereof "bounded upon the outsyde of hys courte. In framing "whereof, the workeman had wrought thys subtile "conueyance, one stone in the wall hee layde in that "forte, that a man might easily at pleasure plucke it in "or out, which notwithstanding serued so fittingly to "place, that nothing coulde be discerned. When the "building was finished, the King caused his treasure to

[1] The printed text of B.R. actually has Kampsinitus (Fol. 101*a*).

[2] Gr., τὰ προπυλαια.

[3] I.e., the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis.

[4] Compare the extract from Diodorus on p. 185.

[5] Some chamber in the "Pavilion" of Rameses III. at Medînet Habu is here referred to.

"be brought into it, minding henceforth to be secure
"and to lay aside all feare of misfortune. In processe of
"time, this cunning artificer lying at the poynt to
"dye, called unto him his two sonnes, and disclosed
"unto them in what manner he had prouided for theyr
"good estate, in leauing a secret and most priuy
"passage into the King's treasurie, whereby theyr
"whole lyfe might be lead in most happy and blessed
"condition. In briefe, he shewed them all that was
"done by hym, delyuering them the just measures of
"the stone, that they mighte not bee deceyued in laying
"it agayne, whych the two young youthes well marking,
"thought from that tyme forwarde to be of the Kings
"counsayle, if not of hys court, and to become the
"priuy surueyers of hys jewell-house. Theyr father
"beeing dead, they made no long delay to put in
"execution theyr determinate purpose, but repayring
"to the court by night, they found the stone, which
"with small force remoouing it from the place, they
"sped themselues wyth plentie of coyne, and so departed.
"In shorte space after the King entering hys treasurie,
"and fyndyng the vessels wherein hys money lay to be
"somewhat decreased, was exceedingly amazed, not
"knowing whome to accuse, seeyng both hys seales
"whyche he had set on the dore, untouched, and the
"dore fast locked at hys commyng thyther. Howbeit,
"repayring sundrie tymes to beholde hys wealth, and
"euermore perceyuing that it grewe lesse and lesse,
"deuised with hymselfe to beset the place where hys

"money lay with certayne greens or snares to entrappe
"the theefe in. These subtile merchaunts accordying
"to theyr former wont approching the spring head
"where they had dronke so oft before, one of them
"went in, and groaping for the money, was so fast
"intangled in a snare, that for hys lyfe hee wist not
"how to shifte, but seeyng hymselfe in these braakes,
"hee called hys brother, to whome he disclosed his euill
"happe, willing hym in any wise to cut off hys head,
"least beeyng knowne who hee was, they both myght
"bee serued with the same sauce. His brother hearing
"hys counsayle to be good, did as he bade hym, and
"fitly placing the stone as hee founde it, departed
"home, bearyng with hym the head of hys slayne
"brother. The nexte day the King opening hys jewell-
"house, and espying an headlesse theefe surprized in a
"ginne, was wonderfully astonied, seeing euery place
"safe, and no way in the world to come in or out at.
"In this quandary, uncertaine what to thynke of so
"straunge an euent, he deuised yet to go another way
"to the wood, causing the body of the theefe to be
"hanged out uppon the walles in open view to all that
"passed by, appoynting certayne to attend in that
"place, with straight charge, that if they hearde
"any making moane or lamentation at the sighte
"thereof, they shoulde foorthwyth attache them,
"and bryng them to the Kyng. The Mother of
"these two Brethren not able wyth patiente eyes to
"beholde the wretched carkasse of her pitifull sonne,

"called the other brother unto her, aduising him by "some meanes or other, to take awaye his brothers "body and burie it, threatening moreouer, that in case "he neglected to accomplishe it wyth speede, shee "woulde open all hys thefte and treacherie to the "Kyng. Whome her sonne endeuouring wyth many "woordes to persuade, and nought auayling (so tender "was her affection towardes her childe) hee set hys "wittes abroache to the framing of some subtyle "concepte, to beguyle and inueigle the Kyngs watche-"men. Pannelling sertayne Asses whyche hee loaded "wyth bottels of sweete wyne, hee proceeded forwarde "wyth hys carryage, tyll suche tyme as hee came "agaynste the place where the watche laye, where "priuily unstopping one or two of hys bottles, the wyne "flowed out in greate aboundance, whereat, fayning as "though hee had beene besydes hymselfe, hee piteously "cryed out, tearing hys hayre add (*sic*) stampyng as "one bitterlye ignoraunte whyche to remedye fyrste. "The keepers seeyng the wyne gushe out so fast, ranne "hastely wyth pottes and cannes to receyue it least all "should bee lost, but the dryuer (who had alreadye "cast hys plotte) seemed heereat muche more inraged "than before, tauntyng and raylyng at them wyth most "bitter and reuiling woordes. Contraryly, the watch-"men geuing him very fayre and gentle language, hee "seemed better contented, leadyng asyde hys Asses "out of the way to newe girde them, and place his "carriage in better order. Manye woordes grewe

"betweene them whyles he was addressing hys Asses
"to proceede on theyr waye, till that one of them
"bolting foorth a merry iest, caused hym to laugh
"hartily, so that lyke a good fellowe, he bestowed
"amongst them a bottle of wyne, which courtesie they
"all tooke in very good parte, requesting hym to sitte
"wyth them for companye, and drinke parte of hys
"owne cost. Whereto hee willingly consenting, they
"dranke a carouse, every man hys cannikin, tyll the
"wyne began to runne of the lyes, whyche thys
"coapesmate perceyuing, set abroach another bottle,
"and began to quaffe afreshe, whyche set my keepers
"in such a tantarra, that beeyng well wetted, they set
"more by three drammes of sleepe, than syxe ounces of
"witte. When all was hushe, and the watchmen fast
"asleepe, hee tooke the bodye of hys brother, and in
"mockage, shauing off the hayre of theyr right cheekes,
"he returned home, beyng right gladly enterteyned of
"hys mother. The Kyng seeyng hys deuises no better
"to proceede, but for ought he coulde imagine the
"theefe still beguyled hym, waxed woonderous wrath:
"howbeit, determining to leave nothing unattempted,
"rather then to let such a villayne escape scot free, he
"built yet another trappe to catch the foxe in. He
"had at that time abiding in hys courte a goodly
"gentlewoman, his onely daughtor, whome he tenderly
"loued from her childhood. This Lady he made of his
"counsayle, willing her by the duety of a chylde, to
"abandon chastity for the time, making hirselfe a

"common stalant for all that would come, on condition "they shoulde sweare to tell her the subtilest and the "sinfullest prancke that ever they had played in all "theyr lyfe tyme, and who so confessed the facts lately "atchieued in imbesileing the Kings treasure, and "stealing away the theefe, him to lay hold on, and not "suffer to depart. The gentlewoman obeying her "fathers will, kepte open house, having a greate repayre "unto her out of all partes of the countrey. Now the "theefe whyche knewe full well to what intente the "Kyng had done thys, desirous to bee at oast wyth "hys daughter for a nighte, and fearing the daunger "that myghte ensue, beeyng of a verie pregnaunt and "readie witte, deuised yet another shifte wherewythall "to delude the Kyng: he strake off the hande of hys "brother that was dead, and closely carying it under "his cloake, he repayred to the place where the Kings "daughter lay, who demaunding hym the question as "she had done the rest, receyued of him this aunswere, "that the sinfullest acte that ever he committed, was to "cut off his brothers head, being inueigled in a snare "in the Kings treasurie, but the subtilest in that he had "deceyued a fort of dronken asses, whome the King had "appoynted to watch the body. The Lady that had "listned to his tale, hearing the newes she longed for, "stretched out her hand to lay hold on him, who sub-"tilly presenting her with the hand of his brother "(which beeing darke, she fast gripped instead of his "owne), he conueyed himselfe from her and was no more

"seene. The King heereof aduertised, was stricken with "so great admiration as well of his wit in deuising, as "his boldnesse in aduenturing, that forthwith he caused "notice to be geuen throughout all partes of his gouerne- "ment, that in case the party whiche had done these "thinges woulde disclose himselfe, and stand to his "mercy, he woulde not only yeeld him free pardon, but "also indue and honour him with so princely rewards "as were fit for a person of such excellent wisedome. "My yonker yeelding credite to the Kings promise, came "foorth in presence, and described himselfe, with "whome Rampsinitus ioyning his daughter in marriage, "did him the greatest honour he could deuise, esteeming "him for the wisest man that liued upon the earth, "holding it for certayne, that the Egyptians excelled "all others in wisedom, amongst whome he judged none "comparable to hym. The same King (say they) whiles "he was yet liuing, trauelled so far under the ground, "till he came to the place which the Graecians call the "seates infernall, where he played at dyce with the god- "desse Ceres, and sometimes winning, sometimes losing, "he returned againe at length, being rewarded by her "with a mantle of gold. In the meane space while "Rampsinitus undertooke this voyage to hell, the "Aegyptians kept holyday, prolonging the celebration "till such time as he retyred backe againe, which "solemne obseruance, since our memory hath been "duely celebrated. But whether this be the cause of "that sacred festiuall, I dare not auowe, howbeit, the

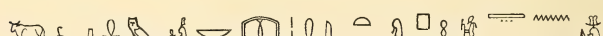
"priests shewed me a certayne cloake, wouen in the "space of one daye, wherewith once a yeare they attyre "some one of theyr petie vicares, blinding moreouer "hys eyes wyth a myter. Beeing in thys sorte attyred, "they conduct hym to the hyghway that leadeth to "the temple of the goddesse Ceres, whereafter they "haue placed hym, they leaue hym grabling in that "place, and departe their waye. To whome incontinently "resorte two wolues, conducting the priest to the temple "aforesayde, whyche is distaunte from the city twentie "furlongs, where hauing accomplished certayne rytes, "the wolues leade hym backe agayne to the same place. "All these thyngs they doubt not to reporte for certayne "true, which we leaue to euery mans lyking to iudge of "them as they deserue. For myne owne parte I haue "thought it meete to make relation of such things as "I heard amongst them, going no farther in many "thyngs than hearesay." According to Diodorus (i. 62) when Proteus died, "his son Remphis succeeded him, "who spent all his time in filling his coffers, and "heaping up wealth. The poorness of his spirit, and "his sordid covetousness was such, that they would not "suffer him to part with anything, either for the "worship of the gods, or the good of mankind; and "therefore, more like a good steward than a king, "instead of a name for valour and noble acts, he left "vast heaps of treasure behind him, greater than any "of the kings that ever were before him: for it is said "he had a treasure of four hundred thousand talents of

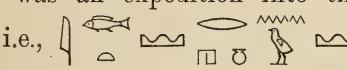
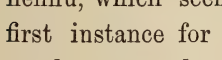
"gold and silver." In confirmation of this statement may be mentioned the words of Herodotus (ii. 124), who says that in the reign of Rhampsinitus there was a perfect distribution of justice, and that all Egypt was in a high state of prosperity. This prosperity was the result of the successful trading which Rameses III. carried on by means of his ships in the Mediterranean and Red Sea, and of the freedom which every merchant enjoyed in managing his own business in his own way.

3. 

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ȦMEN, son of the Sun, RĀ-MESES-MERI-ȦMEN-RĀ-ḤEQ-MAĀT.

RĀ-MESES IV., "the prince of Maāt, the beloved of Ȧmen-Rā," was the son of Rameses III., and he was associated in the rule of the kingdom during the last four years of his father's life. His Horus name appears to have been, "Mighty Bull, living in Maāt, the lord of festivals, like [his] father Ptaḥ-Tanen,"[1] and he styled himself "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, "protector of Egypt, smiter of the Nine Bows, the "Horus of gold, mighty of years, great of strength, "prince, child of the gods, who maketh the two lands "to exist." Rameses IV. reckoned the years of his reign from the time when he became co-regent, but

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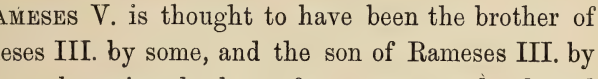
his reign as sole king of Egypt only lasted six or seven years. On a stele published by Lepsius,[1] it is stated that the Retennu, or people of Northern Syria, brought much tribute to him, but this must be the statement of a scribe who was also a courtier and who, perhaps unconsciously, exaggerated an affair of trade and barter into the payment of tribute. Rameses IV. continued to work the mines in the Sinaïtic Peninsula, hoping, no doubt, to draw therefrom as great revenues as those which his father obtained from them. The great event of his reign was an expedition into the Valley of Ḥammâmât, i.e., , Ânt Rehennu, which seems to have been undertaken in the first instance for the purpose either of crushing a revolt among the quarrymen who worked at Bekhen, , where the quarries were situated, or of driving out some nomad peoples from the valley. He could not have wished to work the quarries there, for not being engaged in great building operations he had no use for large quantities of stone. An inscription at Ḥammâmât dated in his third year, states that he ordered a road to be built through the valley from the Nile to the Red Sea, so that caravans might make their way through it with greater speed and safety; he also commanded that a temple to the goddess Isis should be built in a suitable part of it. The expedition consisted of a number of skilled mining engineers, with

[1] *Denkmäler*, iii., pl. 223c.

130 quarrymen and masons, 5000 soldiers with their officers, 2000 of Pharaoh's workmen, 50 Mātchaiu or police, a large number of scribes and other officials, and 800 of the Āperiu, , who belonged to the tribes of the neighbourhood. The total number of men engaged in the expedition was 8368 men, and 900 men died of hard work, or disease, or wounds, between the time of its leaving Egypt and the time of its return. Provisions for the expedition were taken from Egypt in ten carts or waggons, each of which was drawn by twelve oxen, and by large numbers of men who brought loads of bread, fish, and garden produce; the work which the expedition was sent to perform was inaugurated or finished by a solemn feast, at which oxen and calves were sacrificed, and incense burned, and libations of wine poured out, and songs of praise sung.

Rameses IV. carried out certain small repairs at Memphis, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, Abydos, and Karnak, his name being found on several buildings at this last-named place; as his prenomen was so much like that of Rameses II. he was able to usurp the buildings of his great ancestor without much trouble. Rameses IV. built a large tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes on a somewhat unusual plan. It is entered by a staircase with an inclined plane in the centre, made, probably, to enable the stone sarcophagus to be lowered easily

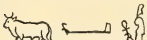
into the tomb, and consists of three main corridors, six side chambers, and the large hall which contains the granite sarcophagus. The walls are, for the most part, ornamented with scenes and texts of chapters from the "Book of the Gates," and with large figures of various gods who are occupied in preventing the king from being hindered by the fiends and demons who would obstruct his passage in the underworld; on some of the walls are scenes and extracts relating to the passage of the sun through the hours of the night in the underworld. The mummy of the king was, presumably, buried in this tomb, but as it was found in the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II. in 1898, it must have been removed from its original resting-place to that tomb during the period towards the close of the XXth Dynasty, when so many of the royal sepulchres in that neighbourhood were broken into and plundered by professional robbers of tombs.

4. 

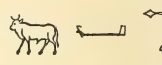
Rā-usr-Maāt-sekheper-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Rā-mes-f-su-Åmen-meri-Åmen.

Rameses V. is thought to have been the brother of Rameses III. by some, and the son of Rameses III. by others;[1] he reigned about four years, and adopted

[1] See Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Aegyptens*, p. 59; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 482; and Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 178.

as his Horus name "Mighty Bull, Maāt Åmen," . He built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it was afterwards usurped by his successor Rameses VI.; his mummy was, presumably, buried in it, though it was found in the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II. in 1898, where it had been removed for safety during the troubled times at the close of the XXth Dynasty. His building operations and repairs were insignificant.

5.  Rā-Åmen-Maāt-meri-neb, son of the Sun, Rā-meses-Åmen-neter-ḥeq-Annu.

Rameses VI. was the son of Rameses III., but some think that he never ascended the throne of Egypt. His Horus name was "Mighty Bull, great one of might, vivifier of the two lands," , and he styled himself "Lord of the "shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, strong in valour, "subduer of hundreds of thousands, the Horus of gold, "mighty of years like Ta-thenen, prince, lord of festivals, "protector of Egypt, filling the land with great monu-"ments to his name." The name of his mother and of his daughter was Åst, or Isis. From the scenes and inscriptions ornamenting the walls of a rock-hewn tomb

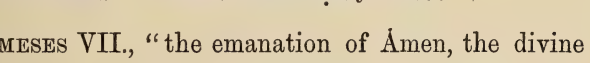
near the village of Anibeh, which is situated near Ibrîm in Nubia, we learn that the "Royal son of Kesh," called Pennut, , dedicated the revenues from a piece of land for ever to the maintenance of the service which was connected with the worship of the statue of the king. The inscriptions give the length and breadth and superficies of this parcel of land, which contained an area of 320,000 square cubits. Pennut was a trusted official of the king, and was overseer of the districts in Nubia, and Uauat, and Akita, wherein the gold mines were situated, and he was governor of the neighbouring town. The tomb proves that the office of "Royal son of Kesh" was still in existence, but it is doubtful if it indicates that Rameses VI. possessed any real authority in Nubia, as some would have us believe.

The occurrence of his name on buildings at Karnak seems to show that he carried out certain small repairs in Thebes, but it is certain that he did not undertake building operations on any large scale. The greatest of all the buildings of his time was the tomb which he usurped and added to in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. It was made originally for Rameses V., but it is clear from the various inscriptions which were placed there by visitors in the Greek and Roman Periods that it was believed to be the Tomb of Memnon; it seems that this belief arose because a portion of the prenomen of

the king, Neb-Maāt-Ra, is identical with the whole of the prenomen of Åmen-ḥetep III. The tomb was originally known as the "Tomb of the Metempsychosis," and Lepsius called it "No. 9"; it consists of three corridors which lead into two rectangular chambers of unequal size, and from these two further corridors lead into two rectangular chambers of unequal size, one of which held the sarcophagus, which is now broken. The first three corridors and the two chambers into which they lead probably represent the tomb of Rameses V., for it is clear that the second chamber, which contains four rectangular pillars, was intended to receive the sarcophagus of that king. When Rameses VI. usurped the tomb he penetrated further into the mountain, and added the last two corridors and the two chambers into which they lead.[1] The scenes and the inscriptions which relate to them are of interest, and consist for the most part of extracts from the religious works which were popular at that period, i.e., the "Book of the Gates of the Underworld," and the "Book of what is in the Underworld," etc. The most valuable of all are the astronomical representations which are found on the vaulted ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber; the tables of stars which are found on the walls were declared by M. Biot to have been drawn up about B.C. 1240, but later investigators make them about forty-six years later. Near the star tables is a scene in

[1] For the plan of the tomb see *Mission Archéologique*, tom. iii. plate 54.

which the Boat of the Sun is passing over the back of the double human-headed god Aker, ,[1] who was the personification of the passage through or under the earth into which the sun entered in the evening, and from which he emerged in the morning. From a papyrus preserved at Liverpool[2] it appears that the tomb of Rameses VI. was broken into and robbed in the reign of Rameses IX., and it was probably at this period that the king's sarcophagus was smashed to pieces; the mummy of Rameses VI. was removed for safety to the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep II., wherein it was found early in 1898.

6. 

Rā-usr-Maāt-Åmen-meri-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Rā-meses-tå-Åmen-neter-ḥeq-Ånnu.

Rameses VII., "the emanation of Åmen, the divine prince of Ånnu," was probably the son of Rameses III., and his reign, like the reigns of most of his brothers, was very short, probably not exceeding five or six years. Of the events of his reign nothing is known, and it seems that he neither built temples nor repaired them; the few buildings upon which his name occurs appear to have been usurped by him. The Horus name of

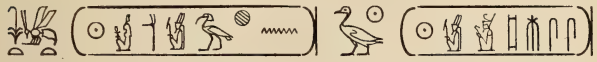
[1] For the plan of the tomb see *Mission Archéologique*, tom. iii. plate 50.

[2] See Goodwin, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 62.

the king was "Mighty Bull, the gracious (?) king," , and we find that this insignificant monarch styled himself "Lord of the shrines of "Nekhebet and Uatchet, protector of Egypt, subduer of "the Nine Bows, the Horus of gold, mighty of years "like Rā, prince, mighty one of festivals like unto "Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods." These facts prove that the titles, which under the XVIIIth Dynasty represented valour and deeds of prowess on the part of the king, were adopted by the successors of Rameses III. as a matter of form. Rameses VII. built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it was not as large as many of those of his predecessors and successors. It consisted of a hall and a corridor, the walls of the latter being ornamented with texts from the religious books of the period, and scenes in which the king is burning incense and pouring out a libation before the god Ptaḥ-Seker-Åsår,[1] and the king, dressed in a garb of Osiris, is undergoing the ceremony of purification, which is performed by the priestly official whose title is *ām-khent*, . On the walls of the hall are figures of the goddesses Urt-ḥekau and Sekhet-Bast-urt-ḥekau, and on the ceiling are tables of the risings of stars, and scenes in which are a number of celestial personages and animals, e.g., lion, crocodile, hippopotamus, ram (or cow), etc. The sarcophagus is ornamented with a double line of inscription

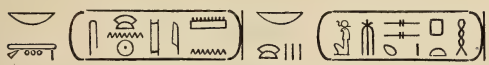
[1] Or Rā-Ḥeru-khuti Temu Kheperâ.

and with figures of Isis, Nephthys, winged uraei, etc.[1] In the small chamber behind the hall are scenes in which the king is offering  to Osiris, and representations of the Boat of the Sun, of the Ṭeṭ with the attributes of Osiris, etc.

7. 

Rā-usr-Maāt-khu-en-Åmen, son of the Sun, Rā-meses-Åmen-meri-Åmen.

Rameses VIII., the "spirit of Åmen, beloved of Åmen," was probably a son of Rameses III.; he must have reigned but a very short time, and of the events of his reign we know nothing. It seems that he was unable to build a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and as his name is not found on any of the buildings at Thebes we may assume that he neither usurped nor repaired them.

8.  Lord of the land, Sekhā-en-Rā-meri-Åmen, lord of risings, Rā-meses-sa-Ptaḥ.

Rameses IX. was probably a son of Rameses III., and he reigned eighteen years alone; as the nineteenth

[1] The tomb is described in *Mémoires Miss. Arch.*, tom. iii. pp. 1–8.

year of his reign was the first of that of his successor it is clear that Rameses X. must have been associated with him in the rule of the kingdom before his death. Rameses IX. was neither a warrior nor a builder, but his name will be always remembered in connexion with the great prosecution of the robbers of tombs which was carried out by the government of his day; our knowledge of the prosecution is derived from the Abbott Papyrus in the British Museum, and from papyri in the collections of Lord Amherst and in the Museum at Liverpool.[1] From these documents we may gather that there existed at Thebes, and no doubt in other parts of the country also, a well organized gang of expert thieves who lived by breaking into the tombs and carrying off the small and valuable objects which they found in them, as well as the ornaments and jewellery with which the mummies of well-to-do people were always decked. A certain amount of plundering of tombs must always have gone on in Egypt, for the large quantities of funeral furniture which was invariably deposited in fine tombs must have proved an irresistible temptation to many a poverty-stricken thief, whether professional or not. We know that Rameses III. was a wealthy man, for otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have made such great gifts to the temples of Heliopolis,

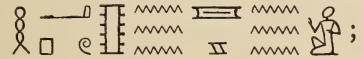
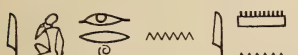
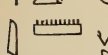
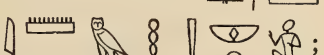
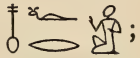
[1] See Birch, *Select Papyri*, vol. ii. plates 1–8; Chabas, *Mélanges*, tom. ii. (3rd series); Newberry, *Amherst Papyri*, p. 24; and Maspero, *Une Enquête Judiciaire à Thèbes*, Paris, 1871.

Memphis, and Thebes, and that he must have left behind him great wealth which his sons inherited. These sons devoted themselves to leading lives of pleasure or indolence, for they neither led their soldiers to war nor built temples in honour of the gods like their ancestors; on the other hand, most of them built large and costly tombs for themselves, and it is pretty certain that they were buried with great pomp and ceremony, and that many costly ornaments and much valuable jewellery were buried with them.

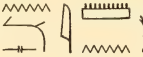
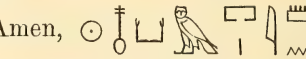
Under the lax rule of Rameses IV., Rameses V., Rameses VI., Rameses VII., and Rameses VIII., the power of the government had become weak, and the work of the state was carried out in a very perfunctory manner; the overseers and inspectors neglected their duties, and the subordinate officials took advantage of their remissness and neglected theirs also, and as a result the workmen who were under them scamped their work. We know that the royal tombs were at one time well cared for, and that the priests and officials in charge of them kept them in good order; offerings were offered up at the appointed seasons, and sacrifices were made, and when any portion of the tombs needed repair it was carried out at once. But under the late Rameses the robbers of tombs, seeing the weakness of the central government, turned their attention from the tombs of high officials and wealthy commoners to the sepulchres of the kings, which formed one of the principal features of interest at Thebes. Little by

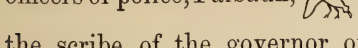
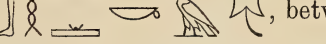
little they corrupted the master-masons and workmen who were attached to the great royal Theban necropolis, and eventually a number of scribes and other officials who performed certain duties in connexion with it joined them, and the plundering of the tombs of the kings then began on a large scale. As to the manner in which the thieves worked we obtain a very good idea from the confession of one of the thieves which is preserved in one of Lord Amherst's papyri; he says that he and his companions effected an entry into the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f where the mummies of the king and queen Nub-khā-s were buried, and that the tomb itself was protected by masonry, and that its entrance was filled up with broken stones, which were covered over with slabs of stones. "These we demolished "entirely, and we found the [queen] lying there. We "opened their coffins and their inner cases which were "in them, and we found the venerable mummy of the "king. There were two daggers (or, swords) there, "and many amulets and necklaces of gold on his neck; "his head was covered with gold, and the venerable "mummy of the king was decorated with gold through-"out. The inner case [of his coffin] was decorated "with gold and with silver, both within and without, "and was covered with precious stones of every kind. "We tore off the gold which we found on the vener-"able mummy of the god, and the amulets and the "necklaces which were on his neck, and the materials "on which they rested. And having found the royal

"wife also we tore off all that we found on it likewise "and then we burnt their swathings. We carried off "the funeral furniture which we found with the "mummies, and which [consisted of] gold, and silver, "and copper vases, and we divided the gold which we "found upon the venerable mummies of these two gods, "and the amulets, and the necklaces, and the cases "into eight parts."

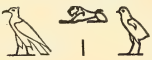
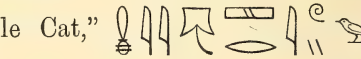
The names of some of the eight thieves were Ḥāpu, ; Åâru-en-Åmen, ; Nesi-Åmen,  ; Åmen-em-ḥeb, ; Ka-em-Uast, ; and Nefer, ; the eight thieves were beaten with a stick upon their feet and hands, and it was by these means that the man who turned "king's evidence" was made to speak and say what he and his friends had done. It is quite clear that the thieves could not have broken into the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f if a proper watch had been kept, and that some of the officials of the necropolis must have helped them to dispose of the stolen property. The priests who took over the stolen goods could sell the funeral furniture to the relatives of people who had died recently, and thus it was to the interest of both priest and thief to plunder the tombs of the wealthy; many an object made under one

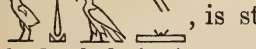
dynasty has been re-used under another, and as the space in the mountains and elsewhere in Egypt available for sepulchres has always been very limited, many a tomb was used over and over again. This fact has not been sufficiently taken into consideration in dating Egyptian antiquities, and it has given rise to considerable discussion among archæologists concerning the age of many objects of an important character. A tomb was maintained in good order as long as the relatives and descendants of the deceased provided an endowment sufficient for the purpose; when this came to an end the tomb was abandoned, and it was either plundered by the professional robber, or its occupier was quietly removed by the priest of the necropolis and his furniture used for a new burial.

The prosecution of the thieves undertaken by Rameses IX. began on the eighteenth day of the third month of the season Shat, in the 14th year of his reign, and the court of inquiry was formed by Khā-em-Uast, , the governor of Thebes, the trustee of the property of the priestesses of Åmen-Rā called Nes-Åmen, , and the herald of Pharaoh called Nefer-ka-Rā-em-pa-Åmen, , and these officials employed to help them in their investigations the head of the police, ; Pa-ser-āa, the governor of the Necropolis, ; some

officers of police; Paibâuk, , the scribe of the governor of the city; Paiâ-neferu, , the chief scribe of the governor of the treasury; and two priests called Pa-ān-khāu, , and Ur-Âmen, . This body of high officials went through the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes and inspected the tombs there; the first tomb which they examined, that of Âmen-ḥetep I., which had been reported to the governor Khā-em-Uast by the sub-governor Pa-ser, , possibly on untrustworthy evidence, to have been broken into, was found to be uninjured. They examined the tomb of Àntef, and though the building itself was in ruins, they found that the stele which represented the king with his dog Beḥuka, , between his legs, was still standing; and when they came to the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f they found that the thieves had got into the chamber and had wrecked the mummies of the king and queen. Of ten tombs which the commission examined they only found one which had really been broken into, though they discovered among the other nine damage made by the attempts which the thieves had made to break through the walls. A number of tombs of private persons had been entered

by the thieves, who had torn to pieces the mummies of several priestesses of Àmen in their search for gold ornaments, jewellery, etc.; it seems as if the men who had committed this act of sacrilege were well known, for they were at once arrested.

We have already seen that the eight men who plundered the tomb of Sebek-em-sa-f were brought before the commission and that one of them confessed, but we are not told what punishment was inflicted upon them eventually. While the commission was still inquiring into the robberies a certain man called Pai-kharei, , the son of Khareui, , and of the woman called "Little Cat," , who had declared three years before that he had been in the tomb of Queen Àst, the wife of Rameses III., and had stolen some things therefrom and had destroyed them, was arrested by order of the court, and having been blindfolded was taken to the necropolis. When he had arrived there his eyes were uncovered and he was ordered to make his way to the tomb from which he said he had stolen certain things, but he went into the tomb of one of the children of Rameses II. and to the house of one of the officials of the necropolis, and declared that these were the places to which he referred in his evidence. The commission, of course, disbelieved him, but though they beat him upon his

hands and feet they could not make him admit that he knew of any other place, and he told them that even if they were to cut off his nose and ears, or to flay him alive, they could obtain no further information from him. The commission had been appointed as the result of the information concerning the robbery of royal tombs which had been supplied by Pa-ser, the sub-governor of Thebes, to the governor Khā-em-Uast, but it seemed as if the court of inquiry which the commission had appointed had been treated with contempt, for the tomb of Ámen-ḥetep had not been broken into, as Pa-ser had declared, and Pai-kharei had himself proved that the evidence which he had given three years before was false. Either Pa-ser had himself been deceived, or he had made a serious accusation against Pa-ser-āa, , the governor of the royal necropolis, with the view of doing him a grievous injury in the eyes of the governor Khā-em-Uast. There is every reason to believe that Pa-ser was correct, but that the court of inquiry made its examination of the royal tombs in a very perfunctory manner, and that it did not, in consequence, examine into matters so closely as it should have done. It is interesting to note that the tomb of Nub-kheper-Rā Ántuf, which the court of inquiry pronounced to be in "sound condition," , is stated by its own report to have had a hole in it two and a half cubits long, which had been made by the thieves, who could have made their

way through it into the tomb whenever they had an opportunity of returning to their nefarious work. The fact that the court of inquiry could regard a tomb which had suffered such damage to be in "sound condition" proves that they took a very optimistic view of the matter. Pa-ser was extremely dissatisfied with the result of the work of the commission, and he told the governor Khā-em-Uast so in an angry letter, wherein he threatened to write and report the whole matter to the king. How the affair ended we know not, but it seems that the governor found some means of shutting the mouth of Pa-ser, and that the matter was never brought before the king at all. What happened was what has happened always, and what always will happen in a purely oriental court of inquiry; the man who brings the charge is proved by the false-swearing of hired witnesses to be either misinformed or a liar, a number of people are wrongfully accused and punished, and the guilty man pours into the bosoms of the judges and other officials the gifts which blind the eyes.

The chief building operations which were undertaken in the reign of Rameses IX. were carried on by Ámen-ḥetep, the high priest of Ámen-Rā, who under this king enjoyed such influence and power as were never possessed by any of his predecessors. This official says, in an inscription which is dated in the tenth year of the king's reign, that he took in hand the restoration of certain buildings which were first set up

in the time of Usertsen I., and that he rebuilt the walls, and repaired the columns, and provided new doors of acacia wood, and made the whole edifice beautiful to look upon. It is curious enough to find the high priest of Åmen recording the restoration of the building by himself, instead of by the king, but it is more remarkable still to find him going on to say that he built himself a new house with fine wooden doors furnished with copper bolts, and that he made and set up a statue in honour of each of the high priests of Åmen in a courtyard which he planted with trees. Hitherto it had been the proud boast of every great king that he had repaired, or beautified, or added to the great temple of Åmen-Rā, the king of the gods, and that he had made such and such gifts towards the maintenance of the service of the god and of the exalted position of his priests. It was a fatal day for Egypt when the high priest of Åmen was allowed by Rameses IX. to usurp the proper functions of the king, but, on the other hand, small blame must be attached to the high priest for usurping royal powers, for unless he and his immediate predecessors had done so the brotherhood of the priests of Åmen would have been ruined. None of the sons of Rameses III. had contributed by foreign conquests to the coffers of the priesthood, and this fact in itself was sufficient to make the priests of Åmen anxious about ways and means, for without the tribute of vassal nations or the money derived from successful trading, the buildings and service of the great god of

Thebes could not be maintained. In another place in the inscription already mentioned we are told that Rameses IX., with the gods Menthu, Àmen-Rā, Harmachis, Ptaḥ, and Thoth as witnesses, and in the presence of Nes-Àmen, a high official in the priesthood of Àmen, and Nefer-ka-Rā-em-pa-Àmen, the royal herald, solemnly gave to the high priest of Àmen, Àmen-ḥetep, the son of Rāmessu-nekht, the power to levy taxes on the people for the support of the temple and priesthood of Àmen-Rā.[1] Thus Rameses IX. by solemn decree gave the greatest power which the king of Egypt possessed, i.e., the right to levy taxes on the people and to raise money, into the hands of the high priest, who built a house of almost royal magnificence for himself, and dedicated statues of his predecessors in the courtyard thereof. Four years after this decree was promulgated the prosecution of the robbers of the royal tombs began; whether it was due to the initiative of the high-priest Àmen-ḥetep or to that of the governor of the city. cannot be said, but we may assign the abortive nature of the results obtained by the court of inquiry to the influence of the high priest of Àmen, who had discovered that a large number of scribes and subordinate members of the priesthood of Àmen were implicated in the robberies.

Rameses IX. built himself a large tomb[2] in the

[1] For the text see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 237*e*; and for a translation see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 186 ff.

[2] No. 6 according to Lepsius, No. 12 according to Champollion.

Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, wherein presumably he was buried. It consists of a staircase and three corridors, the first having four side chambers, and three large rectangular chambers which are joined by two short corridors; the last chamber held the sarcophagus. The walls are ornamented with scenes from the religious works which were popular at that period, and with texts from the "Book of praising Rā," and from the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead;* of the last-named work a text of Chapter CXXV. appears on a wall in the third corridor.[1] In the sarcophagus chamber are some extremely interesting astronomical texts and scenes.[2]

9. 

Rā-nefer-kau-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Rā-meses-merer-Åmen-khā-[em]-Uast.

Rameses X., "beloved of Åmen, rising like Rā in Thebes," was probably a son of Rameses III., and the length of his reign did not exceed six or eight years; a few papyri dated in his reign exist, and from these and a small number of miscellaneous objects which are inscribed with his names and titles, we know that the Horus name of Rameses X. was "Mighty Bull, rising

[1] For a description of the tomb see *Mémoires Miss. Arch.*, tom. iii. pp. 16–30, and for a plan see plate 20.

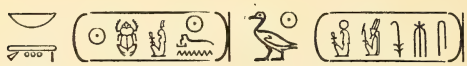
[2] See Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 109.

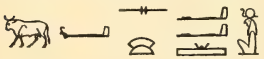
[like Rā] in Thebes," . He adopted as a matter of form the old title "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet," and also styled himself, "mighty of valour, vivifier of the two lands, "the Horus of gold, mighty of years like Ptaḥ-Tanen, "mighty prince of kings, destroyer of the Nine Bows." Rameses X. built himself a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but it is relatively small and it seems not to have been completed; the scenes and inscriptions are of little interest, and the workmanship is poor. In many ways the tomb indicates the increasing poverty of the kings of Egypt, and it seems as though the priests of Åmen either would not or could not afford to provide a large and richly ornamented tomb like the sepulchres of his predecessors; moreover, both priests and king probably felt that it was useless to provide expensive funeral furniture, etc., which the thieves might steal and burn, or the subordinate officials of the necropolis carry off and sell for other burials. The prosecutions of the tomb robbers which had taken place in the 14th and 16th years of the reign of Rameses IX. had resulted in the beating with sticks of a number of the robbers who belonged to the lower classes, but they did not stop the plundering of the tombs. In the first year of the reign of Rameses X. about sixty people were arrested, presumably by order of "the high priest of Åmen-Rā, "the king of the gods, Åmen-ḥetep, the son of the high "priest of Åmen in the Åpts (i.e., Karnak and Luxor),

"Rāmeses-nekht," and were charged with plundering the royal tombs. The tombs of the kings of the Middle Empire had been probably cleared out by the thieves by this time, for we learn that the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses II. were now attacked by them. The ringleaders appear to have been priests and scribes who were attached to the service of the temples of Åmen and other gods, and they succeeded in stealing and selling large quantities of the funeral furniture which had been deposited in the chambers near the entrances of the tombs of Seti I. and Rameses II.; a number of women were implicated in the thefts, and it is probable that these disposed in the daytime of the objects which their husbands and brothers had stolen during the night. In fact the more the document[1] which records the arrest of the sixty suspected persons is considered, the more clear it becomes that large numbers of the officials and others who lived on the western bank at Thebes were connected with and interested in the robberies. The thieves must have been introduced into the tombs by the masons and workmen who had helped to construct them, and they were told what to seek and where to look by those who had planned the tombs and who had probably assisted at the burial ceremonies. All who remember how, some thirty years ago, whole villages on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes lived ostensibly by farming,

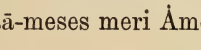
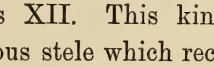
[1] See Goodwin in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1873, p. 39; 1874, p. 61 ff.

but actually by plundering ancient tombs and selling what they found to travellers and others, will understand exactly the condition of things which must have existed in the days of the later Rameses kings. The modern thieves ransacked the tombs by night, often with the knowledge and help of the government officials who were paid to prevent them from doing so, and those men were the most successful who were lucky enough to find the shafts and tunnels which the thieves had sunk and driven in ancient days into the rock-hewn tombs of the great Theban necropolis. The thieves of old cared chiefly for amulets made of gold and precious stones and for jewellery in general, and when they had stripped the mummies of such things they left the papyri and articles of funeral furniture strewn on the floors of the tombs; some of the greatest treasures of European Museums consist of objects which were tossed aside by them as worthless.

10.  Neb ta Rā-kheper-Maāt-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Rā-messu[-meri]-Amen.

Rameses XI. adopted as his Horus name the title "Mighty Bull, whom Rā hath made to rise," ; of his reign, which must have

been a very short one, nothing is known.[1] Whether this king built a tomb for himself cannot be said, but neither a tomb nor mummy inscribed with his name has yet been discovered.

Formerly in Egyptological books which dealt with history and chronology it was customary to insert after Rameses XI. a king whose prenomen was Usr-Maāt-Rā-setep-nu- (or, en) Rā , and whose nomen was Rā-meses meri Àmen , and he was usually called Rameses XII. This king is made known to us by the famous stele which records the story of the "Possessed Princess of Bekhten," of which the following brief summary must be given. The king Rameses, beloved of Àmen, was according to his wont in Western Mesopotamia, and the chiefs of all the lands came to pay homage to him and to offer him gifts; each chief brought according to his power, some gold, others lapis-lazuli, and others turquoise, but the prince of Bekhten added to his gifts his eldest daughter, who was a beautiful girl. Rameses was pleased with her, and when she came to Egypt with him he made her a royal wife. In the 15th year of the reign of Rameses an envoy came from the prince of Bekhten and asked the king of Egypt to send a skilled physician

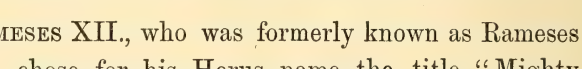
[1] The two vases from the Serapeum which are inscribed with his name are figured in Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1857, plate 22, Nos. 6 and 7.

to his country to heal the prince's daughter Bent-reshet, the younger sister of the royal wife to whom the name of Rā-neferu had been given in Egypt. Thereupon Rameses summoned all the sages of his court to his presence, and asked them to choose from among themselves a skilled physician to go to Bekhten, and their choice fell upon the royal scribe Tehuti-em-ḥeb. When the Egyptian physician arrived in Bekhten he found that Bent-reshet was possessed of a devil which he could not cast out, therefore the prince of Bekhten sent a second time to Egypt for help, and besought the king to send a god to heal his daughter. Rameses then went into the temple and asked the god Khensu-nefer-ḥetep if he would go to Bekhten to deliver the princess from the power of the demon, and the god agreed to do so. The figure of the god was placed in a boat, and escorted by a large number of horses and chariots arrived in Bekhten after a journey of seventeen months.

The prince of Bekhten welcomed the god with great ceremony, and as soon as his daughter was brought into the presence of the god his saving power healed her straightway. The devil who was driven out of the princess said to Khensu, "Grateful and welcome "is thy coming unto us, O great god, the vanquisher "of the hosts of darkness; Bekhten is thy city, the "inhabitants thereof are thy slaves, and I am thy "servant; and I will depart unto the place whence I "came that I may gratify thee, for unto this end hast

"thou come hither." At the devil's request the prince of Bekhten made a feast in his honour, and when it was over Khensu gave the command, and the devil departed to the country which he loved. As soon as the devil was gone the prince of Bekhten determined to keep the Egyptian god in his city always, but at the end of three years, four months, and five days Khensu left the country in the form of a hawk of gold and flew away to Egypt. When the prince of Bekhten knew that the god had departed to Egypt he sent back his image with many gifts and with a large escort of soldiers and horses to Egypt, wherein it arrived in the 33rd year of the reign of Rameses. Now there are several points in the narrative, to say nothing of the peculiarities of grammar and spelling, which prove that we are dealing with a version of a piece of legendary history, and not with a record of actual facts. In the first place Rameses XII., as he was styled, was never in Western Mesopotamia, and he neither received gifts from the chiefs of that country nor married the daughter of one of them; but Rameses II. did all these things, and the titles of "Mighty Bull, the form of risings," the "stablished one [among] kings like Temu," etc., in reality apply to him and to no other Rameses. We must therefore regard the story as having reference to Rameses II., and this "Rameses XII." must disappear from the list of the kings of the XXth Dynasty. The text of the story which has come down to us belongs to

a very late date, as Prof. Erman has proved,[1] and it is clearly the work of the priests of Khensu-nefer-ḥetep, who wished to spread abroad the fame of their god, and to make known the great favour with which he was regarded by Rameses II. Finally, we must not forget that the journey to Bekhten is said to have occupied a period of seventeen months, and if this be true Bekhten must have been situated away in Central or Eastern Asia. It is possible that the fame of Rameses II., or of some greater Egyptian king, may have been carried to the far East by some nomad tribe, but it is quite certain that the renown of any of the sons of Rameses III. was never spread abroad in this fashion.

11. 

Rā-men-Maāt-setep-en-Ptaḥ, son of the Sun, Rā-meses-merer-Ȧmen-khā-[em]Uast-neter-ḥeq-Ȧnnu.

Rameses XII., who was formerly known as Rameses XIII., chose for his Horus name the title "Mighty "Bull, beloved of (or, loving) Rā," and he styled himself, "Lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, "subduer of hundreds of thousands, the Horus of gold,

[1] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 54. For the Egyptian text see E. de Rougé, *Journal Asiatique*, 1856–1858; Birch, *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 53; and see my *Egyptian Reading Book*.

"mighty one of strength, vivifier of the two lands, "Prince, life, strength, and health! resting upon Maāt, "making to be at peace the two lands." He reigned twenty-seven years, a fact which is made known to us by the stele of the scribe Ḥeru-a, , which bears the date ,[1] but so far as is known he did not undertake any war or military expedition, and was, to all appearances, content to lead the indolent life of his brothers or kinsmen. In the temple of Khensu at Thebes he decorated the walls of the larger outer chambers which had been left unornamented by Rameses III., and he added a number of decorative scenes on the walls and columns with cup-shaped capitals, in the hypostyle hall of the same building, wherein he is represented making offerings to various gods. The name of Rameses XII. appears in a few places in the great temple of Åmen-Rā at Karnak, but it is doubtful if he carried out there any restorations or repairs. A few objects inscribed with his name have been found at Abydos, and it has been argued that he carried on certain works there, but if he did, all traces of them have disappeared. He built a tomb for himself in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but the decoration of the walls and ceilings of its two corridors and three rectangular chambers was never finished;

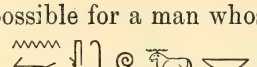
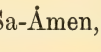
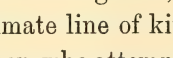
[1] See Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pl. 62.

in the last chamber is a shaft which seems to indicate that the tomb builders of that time resorted to the old form of the tomb with a deep pit leading to the mummy chamber as a means of preventing thieves from plundering the tomb.

We have already seen how Àmen-ḥetep, the high priest of Àmen, had obtained from Rameses IX. the right to levy taxes from the people, and how he succeeded not only in preserving the privileges and power which his father Rā-meses-nekht had acquired, but also in adding to them, and we have now to notice that Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Àmen who succeeded him, was able to make himself at least the equal of the king in power. On some of the reliefs found on the walls of the temple of Khensu at Karnak we see Ḥer-Ḥeru, , with the uraeus, the symbol of royalty, on his brow, and we learn from the texts which accompany the scenes that he styled himself the commander-in-chief of the army, and the "governor of the South and North"; these reliefs were sculptured whilst Rameses XII. was still alive, and so we must understand that before his death there were living in Thebes two kings of Egypt, the one *de jure* and the other *de facto*. Ḥer-Ḥeru was astute enough to make himself chief of the army, and, as his predecessor had obtained the mastery over the treasury of the country, his authority over the material and spiritual resources of the country was complete. Of the circumstances

which attended the death of Rameses XII. we know nothing, and whether Ḥer-Ḥeru waited for him to die before he ascended the throne of Egypt as the first king of the XXIst (Theban) Dynasty, or whether he compelled him to abdicate and retire and eat the "bread of banishment" in the Great Oasis, as Brugsch thought,[1] cannot be said. But whilst the high priest of Åmen was devoting all his energies to the attainment of the crown and throne of Egypt and of the office of "royal prince of Kesh," he steadily neglected the affairs of the Delta, and took no steps to protect it from invasion or to safeguard its interests. If he had been doing his best to break up the union between the kingdoms of the South and North, which had cost the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty so much trouble to make, he could hardly have acted otherwise. There may, of course, have been good reasons for his acting as he did in the matter, especially when we remember that there must have existed in all parts of Egypt at that time many male descendants of Rameses II. and Rameses III., each of whom would consider that he had more right to the throne of Egypt than the high priest of Åmen. In Upper Egypt, however, no claimant of this kind to the throne would have had the smallest chance of success, because during the period of the rule of Rameses IV. to that of Rameses XII. the high priests of Åmen had succeeded in winning over to their side

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 201.

the principal members of the official class which had sprung into being in Egypt, and in laying their hands upon the endowments, both private and public, of the principal sanctuaries of the country of the South and of Nubia. As the god Åmen had been made to usurp the attributes of all the older gods of Egypt, and had even been forced into the position of Osiris as god and judge of the dead, so his priests had made themselves the representatives of all the old nobility of Egypt, and the equal of the king. Their influence over the priests and people of Memphis, Heliopolis, Tanis, and other large cities of the North was not so great, and thus it became possible for a man whose name was Nes-su-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ , who was possibly a descendant of Rameses II., to proclaim himself king of Egypt and to establish himself king at Tanis, the city of his great ancestor and the "House of Rameses" *par excellence*. But the high priest of Åmen, Ḥer-Ḥeru, who called himself Sa-Åmen, , "Son of Åmen," was, we know, lord of the South, and Thebes was his capital: it follows then that Egypt was once more divided into two kingdoms, the one ruled by a descendant of the legitimate line of kings, and the other by the high priest of Åmen, who attempted to legalize the power which he had usurped by means of his marriage with the lady Netchemet . Ḥer-Ḥeru was the founder of the dynasty of priest-kings at Thebes, while at Tanis

a rival dynasty was founded by Nessu-Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, whose name was Graecized by Manetho under the form of Smendes; we must therefore divide the XXIst Dynasty of the kings of Egypt into two parts—I. Kings of Thebes, and II. Kings of Tanis.

END OF VOL. V.

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